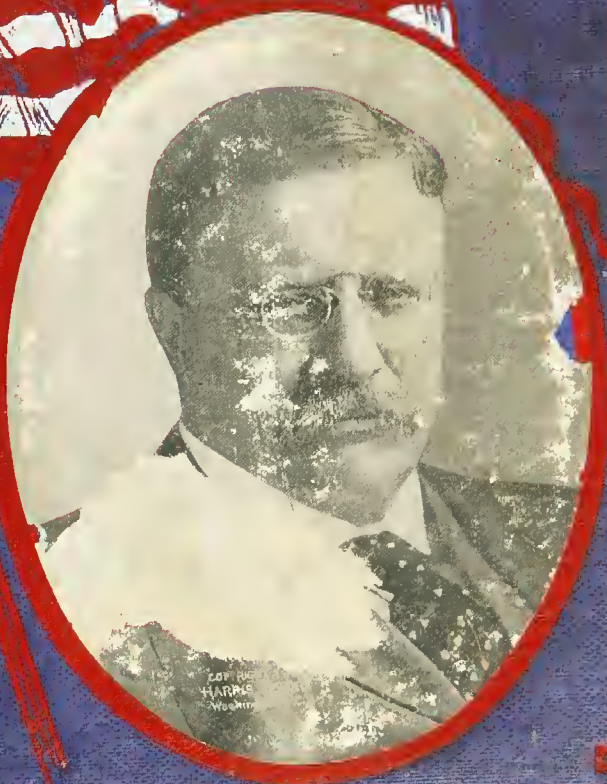


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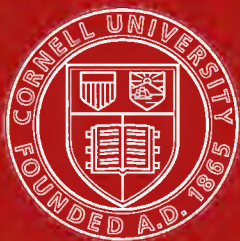
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THE INTELLECTUAL GIANT

ROOSEVELT

THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION

FOR

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COVERING EVERY PHASE OF THE MOST
VITAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

INCLUDING BIOGRAPHIES OF

ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT; THE
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THE WHOLE FORMING A

COMPLETE HANDBOOK OF POLITICAL INFORMATION,
VOTER'S GUIDE, INSTRUCTOR, ETC., ETC.

COMPILED BY JAY HENRY MOWBRAY, PH.D. LL.D.

The Well Known Author

E. M.

OLD-TIME ELECTIONS.

Old-time election was a different affair

An orator stood out an' ran his fingers through his hair

And spoke about ideals that were lofty and sublime

And called for the reforms that were most suited to his time.

He'd quote a little poetry or use a Latin phrase,

For speaking out in public was most formal in those days ;

And then the glee club sang a song in patriotic vein,

With men who carried torchlights keeping step to the refrain.

They'd get as mad as pirates, but nobody based his hopes

On punching some one who was undertrained across the ropes.

They didn't run to frazzles, nor to corking times back there

In those old days when classic elocution filled the air.

They seemed to keep things prosperous when peace was holding sway,

And they faced a crisis boldly, never flinching from the fray

For modern purposes, I s'pose, they're not to be desired,

But old-time elections had a heap to be admired.

—*Washington Star.*

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PREFACE.

UPON Theodore Roosevelt have been bestowed such evidences of world-wide esteem and honors as have fallen to the lot of no other one of America's greatest sons, from the rolls of either the living or the dead.

Washington, Lincoln, Grant! These only are worthy of comparison with him. Yet full recognition of the majesty of the character of the Father of his Country came not until his mortal spirit had passed from its earthly sphere and his bones were mouldering in the dust.

Lincoln! The sublime grandeur of his character, the nobility of his personality, the purity of his purposes now are graven upon the stars; his one-time enemies now journey to his tomb and pay homage to his fame, but he did not live to see even the culmination of his dreams of a reunited country, much less the universal realization of the justice of his aims.

Grant! No word of mine could add to the lustre of that noble name, great warrior and statesman as he was.

But Roosevelt! No flag on earth but dips to do him honor; no guns but thunder to his fame.

The proudest names of the old world; the hautiest descendants of the Cæsars, the royal sons of the Vikings of the North, the Hapsburg Emperor from the throne his forefathers held when European civilization was yet in its infancy, the Kaiser with his embattled hosts—all vied with the Executive of our sister republic beyond the seas in acclaiming him as the embodiment of government of, for and by the people.

Palaces emptied to join his proud procession from the heart of the African jungle through the courts of Europe, till at last his ship should cast its anchor in the shadow of that glorious Liberty the rays from whose upraised torch have spread the gospel of hope to all the world.

King, Kaiser, Emperor—all greeted him—as an equal, shall I say? Nay, as a superior, for more than royal honors were showered upon him by nations which, though alien in race, yet are akin to us in recognition of our INTELLECTUAL AMERICAN GIANT. What brighter laurel can I weave about his brow?

Lawmaker, Civil Service Commissioner, Ranchman, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Soldier, Governor, Vice-President, Chief Magistrate of the Nation, Hunter, and now, Candidate for re-election to the highest office in the gift of the people.

The mere recital of the honors that have come to him tells the story better than words of mine could print.

JAY HENRY MOWBRAY.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

ROOSEVELT, THE GREAT LEADER	7
---------------------------------------	---

CHAPTER II.

BULL MOOSE TYPIFIES PROGRESSIVE PARTY	11
---	----

CHAPTER III.

THE PROGRESSIVE LEADER	17
----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE OF DELEGATES	32
-----------------------------------	----

CHAPTER V.

THE PROGRESSIVE POSITION	49
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VI.

ROOSEVELT SOUNDS KEYNOTE	56
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION	63
---	----

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFESSION OF FAITH	84
-------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM	93
--------------------------------	----

CHAPTER X.

THE RECALL OF JUDGES	104
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

OUR MOST IMPORTANT LAND LAWS	107
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

THE PURE FOOD LAW	111
-----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

PANAMA CANAL LEGISLATION	116
------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE	121
----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XV.

THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST LAW	124
--------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM	126
-------------------------------------	-----

PART II.

CHAPTER XVII.

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT ALL OUR PRESIDENTS . . .	1
--	---

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WHITE HOUSE—WHAT IT COSTS THE PRESIDENT TO LIVE	44
--	----

CHAPTER XIX.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT	57
--------------------------------------	----

PART III.

CHAPTER XX.

ROOSEVELT'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION	1
---	---

CHAPTER XXI.

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE	13
--	----

CHAPTER XXII.

ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY AND RANCHMAN	29
--	----

CHAPTER XXIII.

ROOSEVELT'S ADVENTURES IN THE WEST	43
--	----

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S FAMOUS ROUGH RIDERS	59
---	----

CHAPTER XXV.

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD	72
---------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER XXVI.

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN	81
--	----

CHAPTER XXVII.

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT	99
---	----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER	105
-------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER	121
---	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT	133
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE	142
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE OF GOVERNOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON	346
---	-----

CHAPTER I

ROOSEVELT, THE GREAT LEADER

OF THE

NEW PROGRESSIVE PARTY

BY FRANK A. MUNSEY.

From the August Number of Munsey's Magazine.

(USED BY PERMISSION.)

A GREAT political leader without a great political movement back of him can accomplish nothing; a great political movement without a great leader can make little progress.

Today we have both the great movement and the great leader. It is certain that no man in America appeals to the imagination of the people with anything like the force of Mr. Roosevelt, and it is probable that no man in this country ever equaled him in this respect.

He has been the champion of the plain people for more than thirty years—since boyhood, in fact—and never, in all his public career, from Assemblyman to Governor of New York, and from Governor of New York to President of the United States, has he once sacrificed the people that he might seek the favor of wealth and power of any kind, social or otherwise.

Moreover, he has not been merely a negative friend of the people. He has achieved for them in great measure—has achieved for all the people, rich and poor alike, in the wise legislation he has secured, and in awakening the public conscience to a righteous sense of civic duty and social justice.

It is because of this enviable record of achievement in reforms and big, broad statesmanship, and because of his unflagging interest in whatever makes for the general good of all the people, that he holds so great a place in the hearts of the American people.

Furthermore, Mr. Roosevelt is the type of man that stirs the blood of the people. He is the embodiment of democracy, the cow-

boy, the soldier, the huntsman, the scholar, the writer, the orator, and the statesman. He is a man of most unusual mental, moral, and physical courage. There are counterparts of Mr. Roosevelt in any one of these qualifications, but I know of no counterpart of him in this county, or anywhere in the world, combining the three in one.

Governor Sheehan once told me of a conversation he had with Mr. Roosevelt, standing before the mounted skin of a monster grizzly bear which Mr. Roosevelt had shot at close range—so close that the odds at one instant seemed greatly in favor of the grizzly. After a description of the dramatic fight, Mr. Roosevelt suddenly turned to Governor Sheehan and said:

“But, Governor, I shall never be satisfied until I have killed a grizzly bear with a knife!”

This incident suggests the physical courage of the man—a courage that knows no retreat.

HIS MENTAL AND MORAL COURAGE.

But his physical courage is not greater than his mental and moral courage. In the Legislature and out of the Legislature, in caucus and convention, and as President of the United State, he has held true to the line of duty and has fought his fights to a triumphant finish—fought with the same vigor, the same kind of courage, that made him wish to grapple to a death encounter, knife in hand, with a grizzly bear.

Nearly all of his great triumphs in rate-regulation, in bringing about the control of railroads, in forcing a halt upon the ruthless onward march of giant corporations, in legislation for pure food, pure drugs, employers' liability, and social justice—nearly all of these were the result of terrific struggles with an unwilling and defiant Congress. No man, unless he had been a fighter of the courage and quality of Roosevelt, could have overcome the opposition that massed itself solidly against the President's reforms and constructive policies.

No wonder that a man of this type appeals to the imagination

of the great American populace; no wonder that he stirs them to enthusiasm and loyalty.

This description of Mr. Roosevelt would be incomplete, and would leave an erroneous impression, if I were to say nothing of the other side of his character. What I have said pictures him as a man of tremendous initiative, tremendous energy, and tremendous fighting force. But this is only one view of Mr. Roosevelt. As a friend, a neighbor, a good fellow, a charming companion, a husband and father, he is likewise an exceptional man—not so exceptional as in his mental and physical powers, but very exceptional, nevertheless.

He has the keenest sense of humor and a most kindly and boyish nature. His wide reading, his ample fund of knowledge, and his vast experience with people and in great affairs has equipped him to be, as he is, one of the most entertaining of men. But beyond all this, beyond all the qualities and qualifications I have mentioned, he is a leader of men, a man who impresses his leadership on everybody, a man who inspires all about him, energizes all about him, and is an uplift to all about him.

ADMINISTRATIVE GENIUS.

It is because of this faculty that he is so extraordinary as an executive and administrative genius. He puts the spark of life into everything he touches, implants it in every man about him, with the result that men of indifferent capacity, under the inspiration of his leadership, under the stimulus of his mind, take on some of the force that radiates from him and show efficiency of really first-rate men.

This is leadership, big leadership, executive and administrative genius of the highest, the most superlative order. And this is the man of the hour, the man who stands as the embattled and unflinching leader of the new political party, founded on the idea of progress and social justice, founded as a protest against boss control of political parties, and against the domination of political parties by corrupt, selfish financial interests and vast, concentrated money power.

No political party ever started out with fairer prospects of growing into a great, sound organization, an organization of the people and for the people, than this new progressive party. The cause is right, the leader is a man who leads, and the serious people of the country are earnestly back of both.

Mr. Roosevelt is now fifty-three years old, in the very prime of life. In his energy and his endurance he shows none of the wear and tear of work and years. Indeed, there isn't a fitter man in the whole country today. He came through the recent campaign for the Presidential nomination, undergoing the most tremendous strain, speaking as he did all over the country, and several times a day, without showing even a sign of fatigue. For instance, finishing at midnight in New Jersey, the next day he appeared at his editorial desk in New York, where he turned off a vast amount of accumulated work, and also saw many callers.

Of the many great political fights in which Mr. Roosevelt has been engaged in his thirty years of public life, he now has on his hands the greatest of all. It is a titanic task to build a new nation-wide organization, covering our vast territory and reaching our population of one hundred millions. And in this instance the task is complicated, the difficulties intensified, by reason of the brief time remaining before the election. But all difficulties shrink when actual work begins, and the work has begun. In fact, it began in the minds of the Orchestra Hall audience in Chicago on Saturday night, the 22nd of June, even before Mr. Roosevelt had finished his great speech saying that he would accept the nomination of the Progressive party. The leadership of Mr. Roosevelt was never seen to greater advantage and never better felt than on that occasion, which is destined to mark a big place in American history.

The audience in that hall, when that meeting broke up, was ready to follow Mr. Roosevelt to any rational length in the cause for which he stood, to any rational length in a rebuke to the dishonesty and crookedness of the great convention in the Coliseum, that had passed into history but an hour before.

CHAPTER II

BULL MOOSE TYPIFIES PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

Used by permission of The North American, Philadelphia.

WHEN Colonel Roosevelt arrived in Chicago and plunged into the contest over the stolen delegates at the Republican convention, newspaper correspondents were amazed at the indomitable energy with which he met the stress of battle. In sheer wonderment over the Colonel's vigor and vitality, and with not unfriendly solicitude, in view of the tremendous pressure and strain to which he was subjected, the correspondents asked him the question:

"Colonel, how do you feel?"

"I feel like a bull moose!" was the Colonel's characteristically reassuring reply.

When this was printed the tory newspapers throughout the country, keen for anything to deride Colonel Roosevelt, dubbed him the "bull moose" and the Progressive movement as the "Bull Moose party."

In view of the epithets they had previously applied to the Colonel, the appellation of "bull moose" was a really gracious one to bestow upon him, and as for the "Bull Moose party," the tory press has performed a genuine service in coining a phrase which illustrates the vigorous, wholesome and intensely American new party, of which Colonel Roosevelt is the leader.

For the bull moose is the biggest and most noble animal that makes its habitat on the American continent. Monarch of the forest, greatest beast that frequents nature's wilds, it will never live in captivity. Courageous and strong, it yields to no native foe in its woodland domain. Clean living, it does not exist as a beast of prey. Keen of senses, it detects every taint of the air, catches every note of danger wafted on the winds. Upstanding, majestic and dignified, it merits its title of monarch of American animals.

At the request of *The North American*, Thomas Martindale has written the following description of the bull moose and its habits. As a hunter of big game and naturalist, no man in the country is better qualified than Mr. Martindale to present first-hand information concerning the monarch of the American animal kingdom.

"Strange things are happening nowadays, and history is being made very fast. A National Republican Convention was held in Chicago, and the doings there were unlike those of any other National Republican Convention that this country has ever seen. A week or so later a National Democratic Convention was held in Baltimore, which, again, was unlike any other Democratic convention in the history of the United States.

"Now, out of the chaos and turmoil of these two great gatherings of men, a new party is born. A party that is bound to have a weighty effect upon the future destinies of the two great national parties, and if there ever was a unique name for a new national party, this aggressive and progressive body of men will surely have it in its characteristic title of the 'Bull Moose party.'

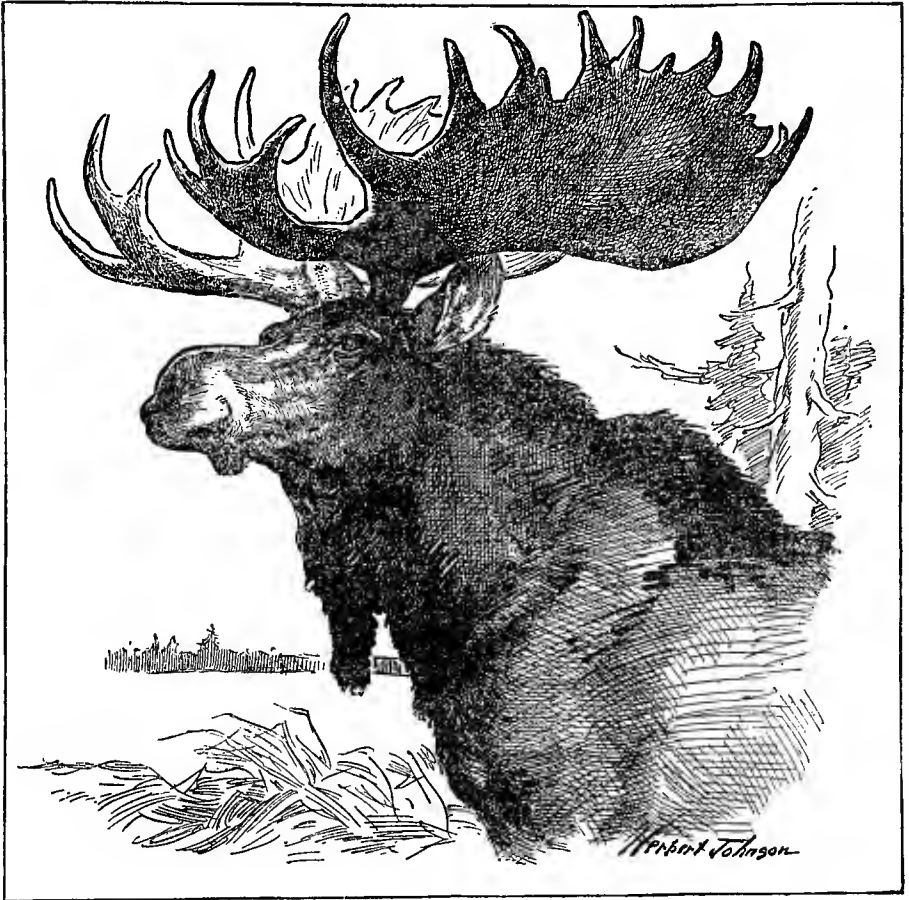
HIS MAJESTY "THE BULL MOOSE."

"Let us see now how his majesty, 'the bull moose,' will compare with the animal representatives of the two old parties. First, we have the elephant as the banner bearer of the Republican party; an animal of enormous strength, and one that is used in his native habitat as a beast of burden. We find him of signal help to the lumbermen in India and Ceylon in carrying heavy beams of wood, railroad ties, logs of mahogany and teak wood.

"They are used to transport men upon their backs, to push railroad cars with their heads, and, worst of all, to act as decoys in enslaving their own kindred to be servants of mankind. So, therefore, the elephant may truthfully be said to be a beast of burden.

"The donkey has been the banner bearer of the Democratic party almost from its foundation, and as to its characteristics, it may be said that the donkey is generally docile, but at times is very stubborn. At most times he is certainly stupid and clumsy, and, like his big rival, the elephant, he is a beast of burden.

"The bull moose is so radically different from these two animals that a comparison is hardly possible. He is easily the crowned king of the deer family, the monarch of American quadrupeds. A noble, majestic creature is he, one who always strikes awe into the man or woman who is fortunate enough to see him. I say awe, not fear.



HIS MAJESTY "THE BULL MOOSE."

From the North American.

"I never met a man yet who has been able to describe his feelings when he has first heard a bull moose coming to the 'call' on a clear, cold and still night. The bravest of them admit that they were, perhaps, trembling so hard as to rock the canoe they were

sitting in, when they first heard the approach of his majesty, breaking through the alders that line the edges of the dead water, where he finds his choicest food. There are many men who dare not attempt to hunt the bull moose on account of the great strain the excitement makes on a weak heart.

"Now, as to this noble animal's characteristics. One of his most remarkable traits is his marvelous sense of smell. His scent is so keen that he can detect the slightest taint in the air for almost incredible distance. A breeze will carry the scent of danger to him literally for miles. If there should be a breath of air moving or little, tiny, fitful zephyrs that carry the telltale scent of mankind to his nostrils, he is out of danger as silently and as quickly as an agile cat.

MIGHT WAIT TILL DOOMSDAY.

"If a hunter finds his fresh tracks leading to the water on and old logging road, and thinks that by sitting down and waiting near the road he will come back the same way he went down, he may wait till doomsday before that moose will show himself to the watcher. And why? Because the man, having stepped into the road, has left his scent on the soil, or on the grass, or the bushes, or perhaps rubbed against a tree or a deadfall, and the fatal scent that he has thus left will warn the royal game to take another and a safer route to his sanctuary.

"The bull moose has also been lavishly equipped by nature with a most acute sense of hearing. The pendant 'bell' which hangs from his throat is composed of nerves and muscles, and it is said its function is to convey waves of sound that pass below the region of the ears to the brain, while the beams of the moose's enormous antlers act like the sounding board of a piano to convey waves of sound to the brain that pass above the level of his ears. And then his ears are very large, so that, in all probability, the moose ranks above all other animals in his ability to hear the slightest sound at an almost incredible distance.

"So, it may readily be seen the bull moose is remarkably equipped to sense danger, and quick to act when warnings are detected.

"One cold, clear frosty night, with snow on the ground, I was lying out near a pond a few miles from my camp. My guide was "calling" with his birch-bark horn, and the sound of the horn reverberated from ridge to ridge. We had made four calls, taking up in time perhaps an hour, when we got an answer from a ridge to our left, and we soon heard that the great bull had started to come to us.

"He came slowly and very deliberately, making a grunt now and then, which enabled us to locate his movements fairly well. Finally he stopped and listened for quite a while and then apparently believing that all was not on the square, he turned around and started back on his own tracks, and he was lost to us forever.

"The next morning we walked out to find his tracks, which we came across about a mile from us, and we followed them up to the top of the ridge from where he had started when he responded to our call, which was a distance of at least four miles more, and thus he had heard our call all that distance.

A COURAGEOUS ANIMAL.

"The bull moose is a courageous animal, and many are the men who have had to 'shin up a tree' to get out of his way when the bull's anger was aroused. He has never been tamed and he never will be either to act as a beast of burden. In fact, it is impossible to rear or keep him in captivity any length of time. He is an animal that is always intensely interesting no matter how many of them a man may have seen in his lifetime.

"The bull moose lives on the best that land and water can give. In the summer time his favorite food is the tops of the lily pads found in the dead water and in ponds and lakes. He also eats the stalks and the roots of this nutritious aquatic plant. He is fond of a moss that grows on the bottoms of some lakes, ponds and dead waters, and when the frost comes and ice forms on the water, then he hies himself to the hardwood ridges and eats the tops of the young beach and maple trees.

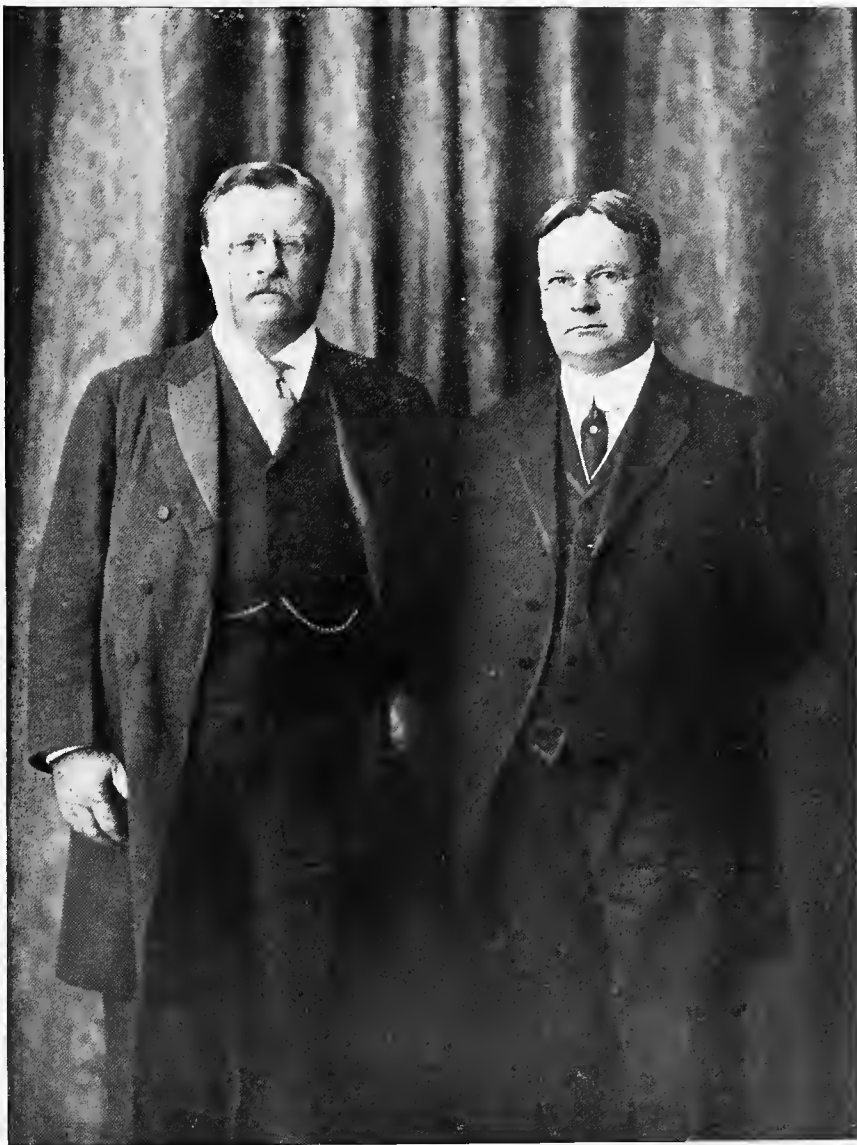
Pressing his big breast against a young tree until it slopes down, he lets the stem of the tree pass under his belly while he reaches out with his long neck and clips off the young tender branches, and then

passes on until the tree flies back, then he pushes his breast against the other side of the tree, repeats his maneuvers until he has eaten all of the young tender branches. He also strips or peels the bark from the moosewood tree, which is his most dainty dessert.

"From the top of a big bull's antlers to his front hoofs we may safely estimate his height as being 10 feet 6 inches and over, while he will weigh anywhere from 800 to 1,000 pounds. His antlers make the best game trophy for the dining room of any animal in the world. His hide makes a good rug; the splints that move his du-claws make fine paper cutters; the skin of his shanks makes good boots, and his flesh is eaten with relish by sportsmen, lumbermen and Indians.

"I know of no animal that inspires more respect in the hunter or, indeed, any one who may be fortunate enough to see him, than the royally majestic bull moose. He typifies strength, extreme caution, robustness, vigor, wisdom, majesty and, above all, calm dignity.

"What a fortunate thing it is then that he has been chosen to typify the new party now forming, and whose battle cry is to be progressiveness and whose fight, if won, must be won by virile, hard and earnest work, and where in order to win dignity, vigor, wisdom and robustness must be displayed by the rank and file of its membership, as well as by their distinguished leader, Theodore Roosevelt."



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA

HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT

FOR THERE IS NEITHER EAST NOR WEST,
BORDER, NOR BREED, NOR BIRTH,
WHEN TWO STRONG MEN STAND FACE TO FACE,
THOUGH THEY COME FROM THE ENDS OF THE EARTH.

KIPLING



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON HORSEBACK

MR. ROOSEVELT IS AN EXPERT EQUESTRIAN. THIS PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS ONE OF HIS FEATS ON HIS FAVORITE HORSE



COPYRIGHT 1912, BY MOFFETT STUDIO, CHICAGO.

GOVERNOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.



JANE ADDAMS.

**IN THE GREAT NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PROGRESSIVE
PARTY AT CHICAGO, MISS ADDAMS SECONDED THE
NOMINATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.**

CHAPTER III

THE PROGRESSIVE LEADER.

ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION IN 1912—CAME AS THE CLIMAX OF A STRENUOUS AND MOMENTOUS CAMPAIGN—DRAGGED FROM RETIREMENT—ENTERED CONTEST WITH RELUCTANCE—OVERWHELMINGLY VICTORIOUS IN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CONTESTS—REASONS WHICH INFLUENCED HIS ACTION.

FOR the second time in his marvelous career Theodore Roosevelt, the intellectual giant, faces the people of the United States of America and solicits their suffrage as a candidate for the Presidency.

Only once previously, in 1904, has he been a Presidential candidate. Indeed, it is no more than fair to say that the remnant of McKinley's first term, which Mr. Roosevelt served out after the assassin's bullet had struck down Ohio's great statesman, was, in fact, McKinley's term, for did not the then youthful Roosevelt, facing the martyred President's Cabinet in the very city in which the body of the revered McKinley lay, say, as he was about to take the oath of office:

"In this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

Mr. McKinley's Cabinet of advisers was continued in office, and not until the people, in 1904, by an overwhelming majority, had approved his course, did he consider that he ruled by their authority and of his own right.

It was then that Roosevelt's first and only real term as President began.

Now, for the second time, by the Progressive nomination, he

is a candidate for the Presidency, with the assurance of a glorious victory in November and a vindication of the people's right to rule.

His nomination came as a climax of the most strenuous and momentous campaign since the Civil War.

Never before did a Presidential candidate enter the contest with more reluctance nor against what, apparently, were more overwhelming odds.

No man can say that Theodore Roosevelt craved the nomination. Had he wished it—yes, had he even *permitted* it—his renomination at Chicago in 1908 would have been absolutely certain, just as his triumphant re-election would surely have followed.

Yet, with a smile on his lips, he passed the laurel wreath over to the brow of his successor and voluntarily became a private citizen, free to roam the world or to enjoy well-earned retirement amid the plaudits of his countrymen.

EDITOR OF OUTLOOK MAGAZINE.

A year's vacation and Theodore Roosevelt was back at his home, living his life as any other American freeman. From his desk as associate editor of the Outlook Magazine, he sent forth trenchant messages to his fellow-citizens, none the less forceful because unofficial.

The great leader was not less a leader as a private citizen than he had been as the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

And in his private capacity he talked and worked and strove along exactly the same lines which he had followed while in the White House. He was and is unalterably against the criminal linking of business and politics, and is determined to see that the Plunderbund keeps its polluting fingers off of the life, liberty and purse of the American people.

Quickly diagnosing the fact that the political boss is the actual, as well as the visible, link between big business and official corruption, he always has fought him with the steadfast and unalterable purpose to drive him out of public life.

The record of the primary elections in Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and other States

show how great has been the effect of his onslaught. His career during the next Presidential term will show the culmination of his efforts to forever end the rule of the public-plundering boss and re-install into our Government a real democracy based upon the only true and enduring foundation possible—the will of the people.

Lincoln fought the same fight and triumphed. Else the nation could not have lived.

Roosevelt's victory will be quite as pregnant of good to the masses as was Lincoln's—and as necessary if the nation is to continue to exist.

The months passed and Theodore Roosevelt went his way modestly, leaving his successor to work out his own destiny and the destiny of the nation in his own way.

No President ever had a fairer critic than Theodore Roosevelt proved himself to be. Not by look or word or deed did he hamper the man he himself had chosen to be his successor. "It all will come out right in the end; he means well," he would say.

Distinguished statesmen from all over the nation came to Oyster Bay in never-ending succession and pleaded with Colonel Roosevelt to enter the race for the Presidency and save the eternal principle of "government of, by and for the people."

Colonel Roosevelt listened, but said nothing. In fairness to the President he wanted to give him every possible chance to set himself right.

Weeks passed. Still Roosevelt waited—almost too long.

Meanwhile Oyster Bay became more than ever the mecca of the progressive Republicans. Their criticisms of the President became more and more forceful, virulent and, unfortunately, convincing.

They asked:

Why, immediately upon his election, did the President dismiss the Roosevelt Cabinet and fill their places with corporation lawyers, men known to be indorsed by Wall Street?

Why, after saying that he owed his election to Roosevelt, did he immediately change his attitude toward him and practically insult

him by welcoming to the White House all his notorious enemies, such as Foraker, Tillman, Bailey and others?

Why did he come to the rescue of Cannon and the "Old Guard" in the House, when the Insurgents made their valiant fight against the old, oppressive rules?

Why did he form alliances in the Senate with Aldrich, Hale and other notorious reactionaries?

Why did he connive at the passage of the Aldrich tariff bill, declaring while he played golf that he would not interfere until the bill had reached conference; and why did he defend that tariff bill as the best tariff bill ever passed?

Why did he repudiate his specific promise to aid in the passing of an income-tax bill and defeat the Cummins income-tax bill, when otherwise it would have become a law?

Why did he offer a judgeship and an ambassadorship to Charles E. Fulton, of Oregon, made infamous by the prosecutions of Francis J. Heney against the Mitchell land-fraud gang?

Why did he kill the Conservation Commission and other commissions created by Roosevelt?

Why did he co-operate with Senator Nelson in reversing the Roosevelt water-power policy?

Why did he reverse the Roosevelt ruling against imitation whisky and nullify by executive action the pure-food law?

Why did he permit the now notorious cabal in the Agricultural Department, a conspiracy whose purpose was to get rid of Dr. Wiley?

Why did he still retain in the Department of Agriculture Secretary Wilson, Solicitor McCabe and the others who were guilty parties in the anti-Wiley conspiracy?

Why did he discharge Gifford Pinchot and uphold Ballinger?

Why did he select John Hays Hammond, legislative lobbyist for the Guggenheim interests, as his personal mentor on conservation and his personal ambassador at the coronation?

Why did he discharge Glavis for telling what has since been proved to be true?

Why did he dissemble to the Senate his reasons for discharging Glavis, and then, when in danger of being exposed in a falsehood, become a party to the manufacture of evidence, the antedated Wickersham summary?

Why did he deliberately trick the public by giving out as his

own an exoneration of Ballinger, prepared by Ballinger's subordinate, Oscar Lawler?

Why did he seek by indirection the repeal of the railway-rate law?

Why did he secure the creation of the Commerce Court, in order to emasculate the Interstate Commerce Commission? And indirectly, by judicial usurpation, to head off rate and other railroad regulation?

Why did he use the vast Federal patronage at his command to coerce the Insurgents in the House and the Progressives in the Senate?

Why did he recommend in a special message to Congress non-forfeitable charters for outlaw corporations?

Why has he indorsed the proposed Aldrich plan for a money trust?

Why did he favor the so-called reciprocity agreement with Canada which was intended merely to grant a special favor to the newspaper publishers, and to take the farmer's share of protection away from him?

Why did he give the secrets of our navy to the Argentine Republic merely to serve Secretary's Knox's friend, Schwab, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, who desired private shipbuilding contracts?

Why has he made the State Department and the entire diplomatic force the bond-selling agents of Wall Street, in deals with China, and Central and South America, all in the service of J. P. Morgan and associate bankers?

Why did he pretend to favor world-wide peace, while refusing to send the Jewish passport controversy to the Hague?

Why did he unlock the door of Alaskan exploitation by reversing Roosevelt's order putting Controller Bay into a Government forest reserve?

Why did he dismiss the Government suits against the New England railway and steamship monopoly built up by Morgan?

Why did he veto the reduced wool and cotton tariff bill—the first legislation in twenty years tending to take the tax from the poor man's coat?

Why did he veto the farmer's free-list bill?

His opponents said further:

He used the tariff board merely as an excuse to delay tariff legislation.

Claimed legislation that was not due to his efforts: Railroad rate bill (Cummins); tariff board (Insurgents).

In general, approved measures he should have vetoed, and vetoed measures he should have approved.

Read out of the party the Republican Progressives who fought consistently for Republican principles, and thus has been the means of splitting the party in two.

Tried to coerce the Insurgents, as evidenced in the infamous Norton letter.

Turned down Hook for the Supreme Bench, not because Governors of Western States protested, but because the negroes protested against Hook's decision upholding "Jim Crow" cars.

Used Federal patronage to coerce the Southern delegates in the Republican convention.

Constantly opposed all efforts to obtain direct popular government and was easily led—by his reactionary friends.

Had a weakness for delaying his work until it became imperative.

Lowered the dignity of his office by going out on the stump for renomination.

Sent his Cabinet too often on junketing trips when they should have been in Washington attending to business.

WHAT COLONEL ROOSEVELT HAS DONE.

Against these facts the Progressive Republicans set another series of acts, beliefs and purposes—those of the greatest champion of human rights who has lived since the days of Lincoln.

Then they chose Colonel Roosevelt to lead what then looked like almost a hopeless fight because the choosing of delegates to the Chicago convention was almost entirely in the hands of the bosses and the voice of the people could make itself heard only in the comparatively few States in which laws directing Presidential primaries already existed.

The considerations which influenced their choice were these:

As an all-around executive, Roosevelt has no peer. His seven years in the White House were strenuous, and resulted in a vast amount of legislation and public education along all lines of prog-

ress. A complete list of his achievements would be a very long and a very broad document.

Here are the notable achievements of the Roosevelt administration:

Dolliver-Hepburn railroad act.

Extension of forest reserve.

National irrigation act.

Improvement of waterways and reservation of water-power sites.

Employers' liability act.

Safety appliance act.

Regulation of railroad employees' hours of labor.

Establishment of Department of Commerce and Labor.

Pure food and drugs act.

Federal meat inspection.

Navy doubled in tonnage and greatly increased in efficiency.

Battleship fleet sent around the world.

State militia brought into co-ordination with army.

Canal Zone acquired and work of excavation pushed with increased energy.

Development of civil self-government in insular possessions.

Second intervention in Cuba; Cuba restored to the Cubans.

Finances of Santo Domingo straightened out.

Alaska boundary dispute settled.

Reorganization of the consular service.

Settlement of the coal strike in 1902.

The Government upheld in Northern Securities decision.

Conviction of postoffice grafters and public land thieves.

Directed investigation of the Sugar Trust customs frauds, and the resultant prosecutions.

Suits begun against the Standard Oil and Tobacco companies and other corporations for violation of the Sherman anti-trust act.

Corporations forbidden to contribute to political campaign funds.

Keeping the door of China open to American commerce.

Bringing about the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War by the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Avoiding the pitfalls created by Pacific Coast prejudice against Japanese immigration.

Negotiating twenty-four treaties of general arbitration.

Reduction of the interest-bearing debt by more than \$90,000,000.

Inauguration of movement for conservation of natural resources.

Inauguration of the annual conference of Governors of States.

Inauguration of movement for improvement of conditions of country life.

Reform of the banking and currency system.

Inheritance tax.

Income tax.

Passage of a new employers' liability act to meet objections raised by the Supreme Court.

Postal savings banks.

Parcels post.

Revision of the Sherman anti-trust act.

Legislation to prevent over-capitalization, stock-watering, etc., of common carriers.

Legislation compelling incorporation under Federal laws of corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

Sherman Law and Trusts: Legislation that tries to prohibit all combinations, good and bad, is bound to fail. Mere size, however, does carry the potentiality of grave wrong-doing. Therefore, *all large combinations should be carefully scrutinized by the Federal Government.*

Absolute private monopoly is not justified. *If properly supervised, absolute monopoly will not come to pass, as the laws of competition and efficiency are against it.*

Individuals should be punished.

No watering of stocks should be permitted.

Checks and Balances: This means that checks and balances obtain among the powers of the different representatives of the people—not that the people have parted with such power, or cannot resume it.

Labor: The nation and the several States have the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth.

Direct Legislation: "Human rights are supreme over all other rights."

Believes in constitutionalism, but does not believe that the Constitution should thwart, instead of secure, the absolute right of the people to rule themselves.

It is false constitutionalism to give the people full power, and at the same time to trick them out of it. Yet this is precisely what is done in every case where the bench declares the people have not the power to right grave social wrongs.

It is clear beyond shadow of doubt that the people in their legislative capacity have the power to enact into law any measure they deem necessary for the betterment of social and industrial conditions. The wisdom of framing any particular law of this kind is a proper subject of debate. But the power of the people to enact the law should not be subject to debate.

The Recall: Favors the Massachusetts system—judges appointed for life, subject to removal by a simple majority vote of both houses of the Legislature. Each State has the right to have its own version of the recall. Some States need a more drastic type than others.

Personally, he does not favor the direct recall of judges. In fact, he is doubtful about recalling a judge who has rendered an improper decision. His way out of the difficulty would be the—

Recall of Decisions: Lincoln practically effected the same thing in the Dred Scott case, although he did not use the word "recall." The decision should be subject to revision by the people of the State.

If any considerable number of people feel that a decision is in defiance of justice, they should have the right by petition to bring the decision before all voters and let them decide whether the judge's interpretation of the constitution is to be sustained.

If it is not, the decision is to be reversed—subject only to action by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Short Ballot: Unqualifiedly in favor of it.

Direct Nominations: Including the direct preferential primaries for the election of delegates to the national nominating conventions. The election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people. Favors the direct method instead of the indirect method of Oregon.

Initiative and Referendum: If a State is satisfied with its present representative government, then it surely has a right to keep that government. When a great many States need these devices, they should be used, not as substitutes for representative government but to make representative government representative.

Recall of Officials: Favors it as a last resort, when it has become clearly evident that no other course will achieve the desired result.

Remarks: Impeachment as a remedy is a failure. The American people are fit for complete self-government. If the courts have the final say-so on all legislative acts, and if there is no appeal from them to the people, then they are the irresponsible masters of the people.

If the people have enough intelligence to frame and adopt a constitution, have they not enough intelligence to interpret the constitution which they themselves have made? "I know of no popular vote by any State of the Union more flagrant in its defiance of right and justice than the recent decision by the highest court in New York State."

These judges should not be recalled, but the decision should be. In all these cases, judges and courts have decided every which way, and it is foolish to talk of the sanctity of judge-made law which half the judges strongly denounce. If there must be a decision by a close majority, then let the people step in, and let their majority decide.

RELUCTANTLY CONSENTS TO FIGHT THE BOSSES.

It was not until Theodore Roosevelt became absolutely convinced that if he should consult his own inclinations and remain in retirement that the Plunderbund would fasten its slimy tentacles upon every branch of our Government and suck every drop of life-blood from the veins of the nation that he gave ear to the pleadings of his political friends and followers and finally consented to make the fight.

He realized, as the thoughtful element of the community did, that we are now writing the third great act in the American drama of political history.

The first period covered the revolt against England, the Declaration of Independence, the War of Revolution and the formation of the Government after our final triumph at arms.

The second great act compassed the period leading up to the Civil War and the reconstruction period after the war.

These were the two great dramatic events in our national history, events that were world-wide in scope and meaning. Our marvelous development as a nation has come about since this last great struggle among our own people, which was only half a century ago.

But with this prosperity has come the menace of vast capital and the menace of the deeply entrenched politician.

Ten years ago capital was arrogant and dominant; today it measures swords with the people as foemen worthy of its steel.

Ten years of continual discussion, ten years of a public conscience quickened to a sense of right and wrong, ten years of warfare against inconsiderate and unfair methods of capital have given you one of the greatest victories in all history.

It has been a bloodless war; but, all the same, a struggle of titanic forces.

While the subjugation of capital has gradually come about, the entrenched politicians have held high their heads in defiance of the rights of citizens.

The preferential primary means the death-blow to their profession, the death-blow to their traffic in the offices of the people.

A GREAT TRIUMPH.

The passage of primary bills over the head of every known political force of both State and nation, and over every known political tactic, is one of the greatest triumphs of the era.

This fight against entrenched power, both political and capitalistic, is revolution, quite as much revolution as was that of our forefathers against England in 1776.

In this revolution, in this great third act in the drama of American political history, let us each and all do the work of citizens and of patriots.

The greatest living champion of the preferential primary is Theodore Roosevelt. The greatest living champion of the rights of the majority is Theodore Roosevelt. The greatest living champion of the plain people is Theodore Roosevelt.

He has fought monopoly, fought capitalistic oppression, and fought the entrenched politician all his life—fought them with a courage, an intelligence, and a terrific aggressiveness the like of which the world has never before seen.

Roosevelt is in a class by himself—a man of fine breeding, of ripe education, wise in his knowledge of the world, wise in expe-

rience, marvelous in vision, and in initiative and execution a whirlwind—matchless among all the men of all the world.

Born to position, Harvard educated, inheriting the association with and the friendship of the fortune-favored world of wealth and power and social eminence, he turned, early in life, from all these to the plain people, who need him most, and became their champion, their leader in the mighty revolution that now grips all America.

Mentally and physically, Roosevelt is a phenomenon. He is as powerful in one respect as in the other—fit at all times for the prize-ring, and fit at all times to combat to the death in the mental arena.

He is a giant for work, a giant in intellect, an all-around big citizen, a great statesman, a great leader, and withal he has a heart that beats warm and fast and true for that side of the world that most needs human uplift, that most needs the grasp of a great human hand strong enough and sure enough to protect and sustain against all combinations of oppression—against anything and everything that is opposed to the square deal of man to man.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

For the next few months every political conversation and speech and editorial will be full of words more or less loosely used to characterize the political theories and personalities that are at issue. In order to put discussion into terms of common understanding, it would be a service to establish some definitions that might find common acceptance. In any science a precise terminology is a prime necessity. Even in a field as unscientific as politics, there may well be a glossary in order that when different men use the same word they may, preferably, mean the same thing.

Here are some definitions which we hope will be of assistance to the public during the coming campaign. Nothing is more difficult than to *define*, and what follows is surely fallible. But not the least service of these definitions may lie in discussion of their precision.

Insurgent: A reformer in politics who is fighting, usually within his party, against some things he thinks are wrong.

Progressive: An Insurgent who is fighting for certain definite

reforms, e. g., the initiative, referendum and recall; the short ballot, the direct election of United States Senators, etc.

Liberal: One who is in sympathy with progressive ideals, but not limited by any hard and fast program.

Radical: A term applied to advanced progressives who, impatient with treating only the symptoms of evil, would remove the causes.

Conservative: One who views with timidity any effort to change political conditions by untried means; a pessimistic citizen, who thinks this is a static, not an evolving, world; who honestly believes that things are as right as can be.

Standpatter: One to whom any political change is necessarily a change for the worse; a conservative who has a personal or business reason for resistance to progress. Satisfied with the hand dealt to him in the game of life, he "stands pat."

Reactionary: One who thinks the future lies in the past; and generally bears the same relation to the conservative that the radical does to the progressive.

Demagogue: One who appeals to the prejudices and passions of the people.

Plutagogue: One who appeals to the prejudices and passions of the plutocracy.

Conservationist: A conservative liberal. His particular aim is to save from private exploitation our public lands, forests, water power, minerals—all the so-called natural resources that have not already been taken up by individuals.

Direct Legislation: A generic term for the initiative, referendum, recall, short ballot, etc.

Initiative: The right of a certain percentage of all voters (say twenty per cent.) to force the Legislature to submit a given question to a referendum, even if the Legislature for some reason does not want to.

Referendum: The act of referring a given question to all the voters for decision; a sort of voters' veto over the Legislature. All State constitutions now require a referendum on all amendments proposed by the Legislature.

Recall: An instrument which enables the voters to exercise the right of the employer to dismiss the employed; i. e., the right of the

voters who have placed a public servant in office to recall him from that office at will, even before his term has expired.

Recall of Decisions: The right of the voters to annul, by a referendum, any judicial decision on a constitutional question.

Short Ballot: A reform to reduce the number of offices to be filled at any election, and so concentrate the attention of the voters, and the authority and responsibility of the few officials elected.

Direct Nomination: The plan of nominating party candidates for office by the direct vote of the voters of the party, without the intervention of conventions.

Presidential Primary: A plan to let the voters of a party, in each Congressional district, elect delegates to the national nominating convention—such delegates being instructed by the voters to vote for a certain Presidential candidate.

Direct Election of Senators: The proposal to have United States Senators elected directly by the voters of each State instead of by the State Legislatures.

Protective Tariff: A tax upon imports fixed at a point high enough to discourage the importation of goods, for the purpose of protecting the home manufacturers of such goods against foreign competition.

Cost-of-Production Theory: A recent Republican amendment to the party's theory of a protective tariff. It proposes that such a tariff should just cover the higher costs of production (due to higher labor and material cost) which the American manufacturer is up against—plus a reasonable profit.

Reciprocity Treaty: An agreement between two countries by which an item or series of items in the tariff of each country is made exempt from the regular import duty.

Ship Subsidy: A money grant given by the Government to a merchant (or corporation) to help establish a steamship route (using American-built ships) which otherwise would not be self-supporting. The cost-of-production theory applied to our merchant marine.

Privilege: All property rights which are the beneficiaries of legislation which does not equally benefit the entire community; e. g., the Woolen Trust, the Steel Trust and other beneficiaries of the protective tariff; any corporation chartered by the State to exercise powers which others are forbidden to exercise.

"The Interests:" Corporations or businesses based upon privi-

lege or otherwise interested in protecting property rights as against the rights of the people.

Sherman Act: A law originally intended to prevent the establishment of monopolies, or "trusts," by making corporations in restraint of trade unlawful. The Supreme Court has since amended the act so as to condemn corporations only when they exercise "unreasonable" restraint of trade.

Income Tax: The proposal to tax for governmental purposes all incomes above a specified annual amount. It is usually on a graduated scale, so that the tax increases as the income rises. The income tax is in operation in Great Britain and in most European countries. A Federal income tax in this country has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. But thirty States have ratified an amendment to the Federal Constitution permitting the tax. Only six more are needed.

Aldrich Plan: A proposal to establish a central bank for *banks*, to be called the National Reserve Association. It will be the fiscal agent of the country, and will have the right to issue money (as banks do now) secured by a reserve. All kinds of banks, except private banks, may belong. Individuals will not deal with it directly.

Checks and Balances: An automatic block system invented by "the fathers" under the inspiration of their experience with monarchical and aristocratic rulers and their suspicion of democracy. It is a distribution by the Constitution of power in such a way that the States balance the United States, and both check the cities.

The Senate and the House of Representatives can block each other, and the President can block Congress; while the judiciary can hold up President and Congress, too. Its admirers say it has worked; that it has kept all political trains on the track. Its detractors agree, but complain that it has kept the trains from moving at all.

The battle for the nomination, however, was on. Theodore Roosevelt was the leader.

Never had America seen such a struggle.

CHAPTER IV

THE BATTLE FOR DELEGATES.

APPEALS TO THE PEOPLE—FOUGHT BY THE MONEY POWER AND ITS SERVILE TOOLS—PRESIDENT'S OLD ENEMIES NOW HIS FRIENDS—VENAL NEWSPAPERS OPPOSE THE COLONEL—TREATED TO A CHARACTERISTIC ROOSEVELT FIGHT—AN OVERWHELMING VICTORY.

AS early as midwinter preceding the election the President had begun a strenuous campaign for delegates to the Republican National Convention. His first field of battle was in the Southern States, where the Federal officeholders constituted a frail remnant of the party organization.

Not one of these States by even the remotest chance possibly could be expected to contribute even a single vote in the Electoral College, but since representation in the convention was based upon population instead of upon party strength this was an easy method of corraling votes and, he hoped, of assuring himself of a renomination.

In this task he was ably abetted by the Federal office-holding bosses, who sprung premature conventions and chose "safe" delegates long before any other active candidate was in the field.

Almost one-half of the total number of delegates already had been so "chosen" and the President's triumphant renomination seemed assured before the Progressives, panic-stricken, finally prevailed upon Colonel Roosevelt to take up the gage of battle in defense of the people and in defiance of the bosses.

Singularly enough, Colonel Roosevelt found that every boss, every corruptionist, every member of the Plunderbund who had opposed the President's nomination four years before, when Roosevelt was urging his selection, now had, as if by magic, swung around and had become the President's staunch supporter.



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT



ROOSEVELT AS A HUNTER WHEN A YOUNG MAN



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COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT
CELEBRATED COMMANDER OF THE ROUGH RIDERS



COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT THE AGE OF THIRTY



COPYRIGHT, 1899, BY KURT & ALLISON

ROUGH RIDERS—COLONEL ROOSEVELT COMMANDER

THIS FAMOUS REGIMENT FOUGHT WITH GREAT BRAVERY IN THE BATTLES AROUND SANTIAGO, JUNE 24TH TO JULY 1ST, 1898



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND FAMILY DURING HIS FIRST TERM AS PRESIDENT



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**THEODORE ROOSEVELT WRITING HIS LAST MESSAGE IN HIS OFFICE
AT THE WHITE HOUSE**



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OLD HOME OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S MOTHER AT ROSWELL, GA.

The group includes Col. and Mrs. Roosevelt, "Mammy" Grace, the old negro woman who was nurse to the Colonel's Mother, and "Daddy" Williams, also an old servant of the Bulloch family.



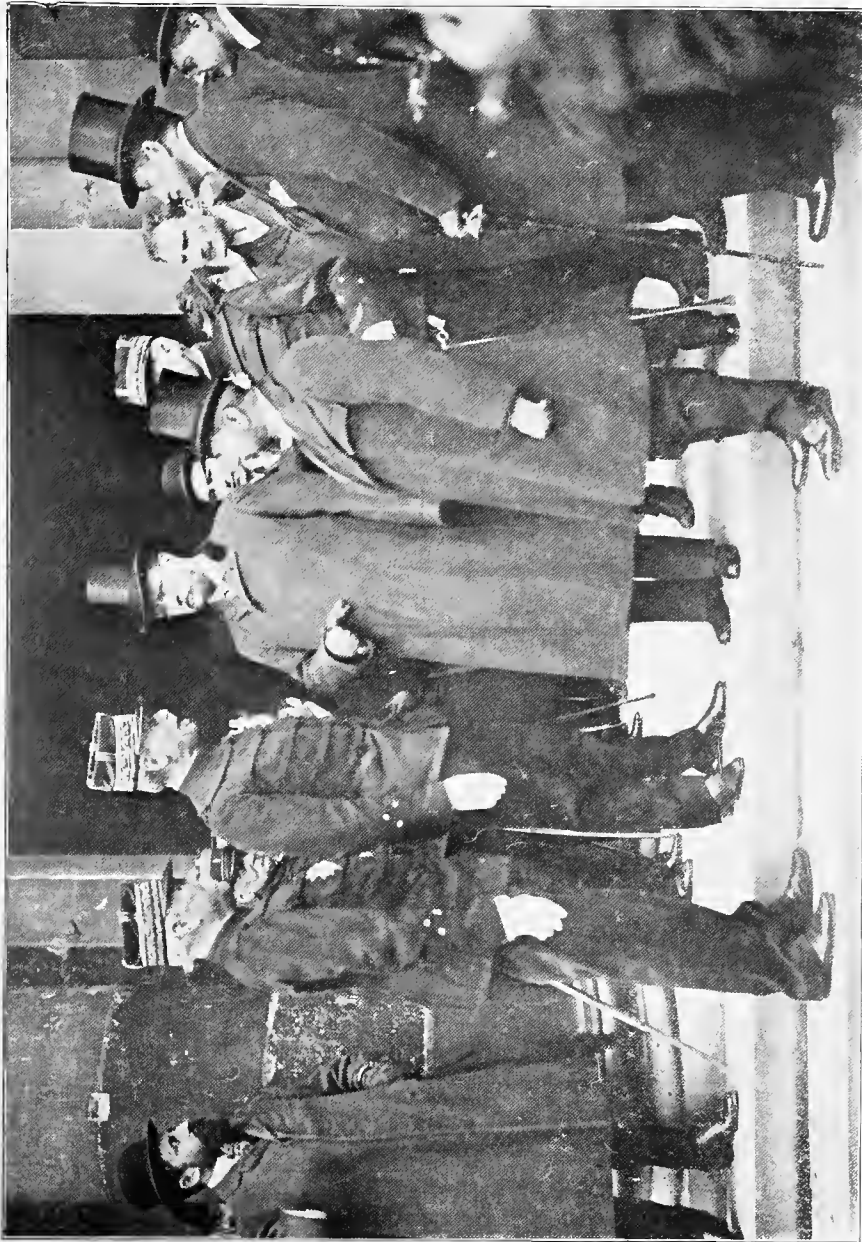
COL. ROOSEVELT AND HIS LIVING QUARTERS WHILE
IN THE WILDS OF AFRICA



Photograph, Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND HIS SUITE VISITING THE PALATINE

This is one of the famous seven hills of Rome. On this hill was the palace of the Cæsars when Rome was the mistress of the world.



Photograph, Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

COL. ROOSEVELT AT THE ENTRANCE TO NAPOLEON'S TOMB IN PARIS

The famous Palace des Invalides, in which is the tomb of Emperor Napoleon I. The last resting place of "The Conqueror of Europe," surrounded by stands of captured battle flags, is one of the most impressive places in the world and Colonel Roosevelt stood there for some time awed to silence.

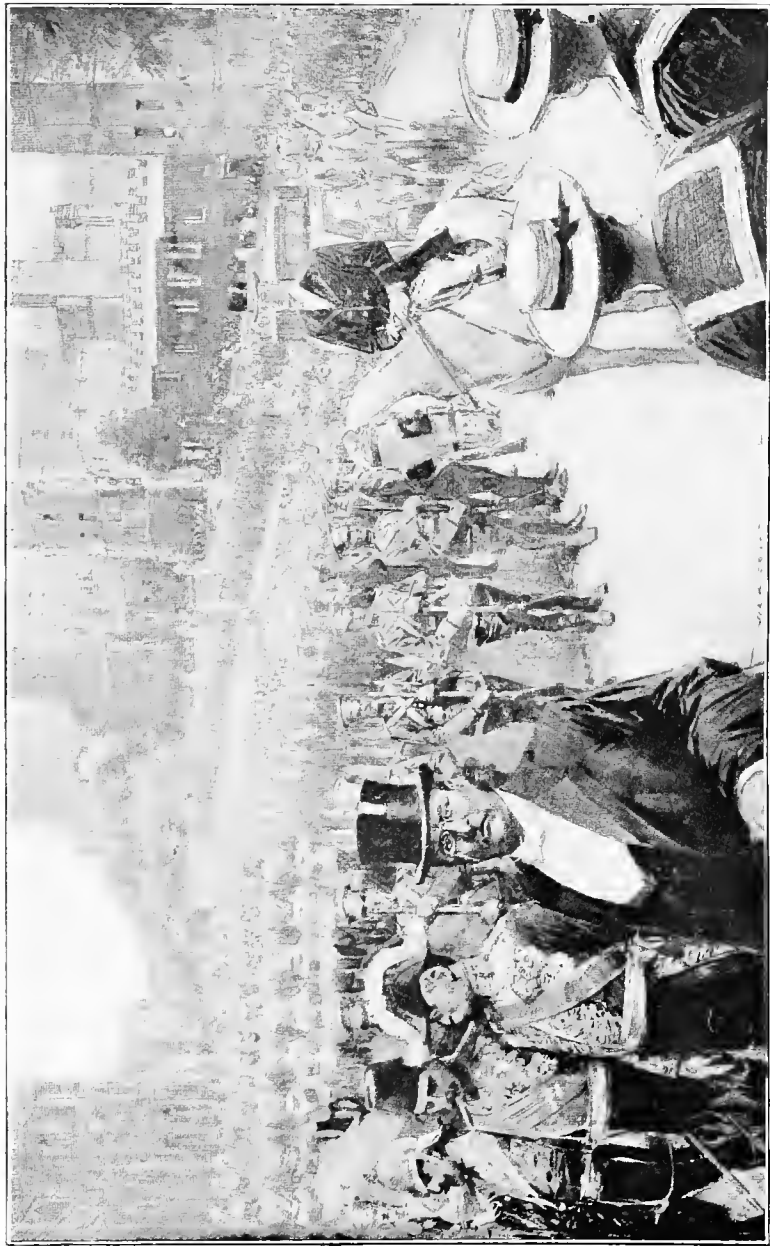


COLONEL ROOSEVELT AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER
A Characteristic Attitude. It is his habit to emphasize his speeches with many forcible and appropriate gestures.



EMPEROR WILLIAM AND COLONEL ROOSEVELT REVIEWING GERMAN TROOPS

On Roosevelt's visit to Berlin he witnessed 12,000 soldiers engaged in a mimic battle, arranged especially in his honor. Afterward the Emperor and the Colonel reviewed the regiments, the Emperor remarking: "You are the only private citizen who was ever invited to witness a mimic battle by German troops."



COLONEL ROOSEVELT FOLLOWING THE BODY OF KING EDWARD.

In the picture the Colonel is a conspicuous figure, the black of his evening dress standing out in striking contrast to the resplendent uniforms worn by the other mourners.



COLONEL ROOSEVELT MAKING HIS REMARKABLE SPEECH.

The Colonel expressed himself with remarkable frankness while speaking at the Guildhall, after having received the honorary freedom of the City of London. He dealt with the position in Egypt, saying, amongst other things: "If you feel that you have not the right to be in Egypt and if you do not wish to establish and to keep order there, then by all means get out of Egypt."



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT, A.B., LL.D., Ph.D., D.C.L.

This photograph was taken in London while the Colonel was on his way to the Cambridge University to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Every trust favored the President;

Every exploiter of the people for his own private gain supported the President;

Every venal newspaper in the land gave him its enthusiastic assistance.

But these things did not for an instant daunt the intrepid Roosevelt. He scorned the public plunderers and their venal servants alike. He had conquered them before and he felt that he could again send them down to defeat. He had the people with him and he knew it.

It was One Man against the System—but what a Man!

He took up the gage and forced the fighting. From that day till the day the convention met the renomination of the President became more and more an impossibility.

OPPOSED BY GREAT AND SMALL.

Strenuous as was the fight in the hands of Congress against Roosevelt and the measures he advocated, it was mild when compared with the combined fight put up against him by the railroads, by big business and Wall Street, almost to a man—the big fellows and the little fellows alike.

No man ever was more bitterly denounced, or more thoroughly hated or more fiercely fought than Roosevelt was by the financial district and its subservient and servile allies—in and out of office.

It fought him from every angle and from every ambush.

When Theodore Roosevelt fights he fights—and he knows no method save that of direct, honest and open appeal to the only real source of honor and power—the people.

Why should he not appeal to the people? He was fighting their battle, not his own!

Place nor power had no charm for him. He had held the highest and had held it to his country's honor and his country's good.

It does not follow, of course, that all the men who opposed the Colonel were actuated by selfish purposes. Some of them unquestionably were, but many stood for what was because it was. They

lacked the imagination to grasp the new and shuddered at innovation.

The President's battle was almost won ere Roosevelt entered the fray. The tide began to turn at once. State after State swung into the Roosevelt column until victory was assured—assured beyond the possibility of theft by a Roosevelt-hating National Committee or by a packed and manipulated convention.

Indeed, from the moment that Roosevelt agreed to make the race, the President won scarcely a delegate in a fair and open fight.

Illinois, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California, Washington, Maine, the President's own State of Ohio and New Jersey all went overwhelmingly for the popular hero, while in boss-ridden and conservative Massachusetts he held the President to a practically tie vote and got every one of the State delegates at large.

To New Jersey, with its unanimous vote for Roosevelt, must be given the credit for breaking the back of the President's hope of renomination.

A DESPERATE THREAT.

Then came the last desperate threat of the defeated but still firmly entrenched forces—they would steal the nomination, defy the people and send the party down to certain defeat.

The Roosevelt answer was characteristic.

"Fight!" he said.

And fight they did.

The Roosevelt line of battle for the Republican National Convention was formed on June 1. At a "council of war" on Sagamore Hill, which lasted most of the day, there was mapped out the campaign to result in the capture of the convention.

The first step was to be organization of the Roosevelt forces throughout the country. It was planned to send to Chicago, a week or so in advance of the convention, an executive committee from every State in which Roosevelt delegates had been elected, or in which there was a contest. By this method it was expected to mobilize and drill an organization which would act as a unit on every matter which would come before the convention.

As a part of this plan the Roosevelt delegates in every part of the country were canvassed as to their views on the temporary chairmanship, that a harmonious agreement might be reached. Although Colonel Roosevelt had decided to oppose the selection of Senator Root, and had asked Governor Hadley, of Missouri, to be his candidate for the place, he indicated that he possibly would waive his objections if it seemed wiser to a majority of his supporters to reserve their fire for the more important contests.

The Colonel himself at first was not willing to make a formal statement that he had ceased to oppose Senator Root's election. While he admitted that his visitors favored such a course, he was not yet ready to admit that this would be the best policy. "I want," said he, "to hear from some more of the delegations before I commit myself about the temporary chairmanship. I want to get in touch with all these gentlemen first."

WHY ROOSEVELT OPPOSED ROOT AS CHAIRMAN.

In response to an inquiry as to whether he had not already written to Governor Hadley, of Missouri, asking him if he would consent to act as temporary chairman, Colonel Roosevelt said: "Yes, I have written to Governor Hadley concerning this matter, but nothing has been definitely decided upon."

Pressed for an account of his conferences he summed them up as follows:

"These gentlemen regarded the question of temporary chairmanship as absolutely unimportant, and thought that whatever the chairman said would represent only his opinion and the opinion of the National Committee, and in no way the opinion of the national convention. Their belief was that no issue should be made about the temporary chairmanship.

"I answered that I would carefully consider all they had said, and would be glad to hear from any others.

"Both the Illinois and the Maine men also protested about the matter of the distribution of seats to the convention, saying that their delegations have been allowed only a very small proportion of the tickets allotted, and that they felt that this indicated a deliberate

purpose on the part of the National Committee to use ten or eleven thousand tickets to stuff the gallery with shouters who will try by clamor to overawe the chairman.

"They also have suggested that the hearings on the contested elections should be open to the press. All that we are striving for is an absolutely honest decision in the contested delegation cases, and there can be no objections to having the hearings public if there really is a determination to decide each case exactly on its merits."

The two Maine delegates who lunched with Colonel Roosevelt that day were Merrill N. Drew and Frederick Hale, both of Portland. Mr. Drew said that they had gone up to see the Colonel and to tell him that the Maine delegation was for him from start to finish. All twelve of them, he said, were ready to back the Roosevelt faction in a fight for temporary chairman if necessary.

SOLID FOR ROOSEVELT.

The Illinois delegation which attended the conference numbered fourteen, and was piloted by Alexander H. Revell, of Chicago, chairman of the Roosevelt National Committee, and Medill McCormick, of Chicago, Senator Dixon's right-hand man. S. S. McNich was the representative of North Carolina. All said they assured the Colonel that the delegations from their States were solidly for him.

The plan for organization of an executive committee in every State was presented by the Illinois delegation. It met with the enthusiastic approval of the former President.

"I heartily approve of it," he said. "I think it is a splendid thing."

The fight for the control of the Republican National Convention began on June 3 in the National Committee over the two hundred and thirty contests for seats in the convention. More than four-fifths of these contests had been instituted by the Roosevelt managers, and the majority of them by far affected the Southern representation. The evidence which the National Committee was to take during the next fortnight was supposed to be determined, so far as the admission of the delegates to the convention at its opening session was concerned. But the reports which the National Com-

mittee was to make were not necessarily final, as the convention itself, not satisfied with the credentials of the delegates who are admitted, was to have the right to unseat him and substitute their opponents.

The National Committee in making up the roll of conventions in past years has usually been fair, or has been as much guided by a decent regard for the facts as any committee of politicians is likely to be when an exciting contest for the nominations is going on. But the sessions of 1912 was altogether out of the ordinary and marked by exhibitions of intensely bitter feeling, as not only the control of the convention but the future existence of the Republican party was apparently largely dependent on the decisions of the committee.

ROOSEVELT'S HOPES ON FIRST BALLOT.

The friends of President Taft formed a majority of the committee, but their opponents easily discredited them on the ground that they would not give Roosevelt or the Roosevelt contests fair play. It was evident that the hopes of Roosevelt for nomination on the first ballot rested chiefly on the number of Southern delegates who might be won over to him from Taft, or who might be unseated by the National Committee, and the indications were that most, if not all, decisions of the committee in favor of the Taft delegates would be "unfair" and be carried into the convention in an attempt to reverse them.

The plain fact was that a large portion of the Southern delegations really represented no Republican party in point of either numerical or moral substance. The right of representation which is accorded to most of them is altogether disproportionate to what there is behind them. Much of what they purport to stand for is simply nominal or farcical. The methods by which many of them were chosen as delegates will not bear honest examination.

There was a constantly growing belief that the convention would be attended by a disruption of the Republican party—that many of the followers of neither candidate would accept its verdict, and that the disruption might involve a still greater split than the Democratic party underwent after the first nomination of Bryan.

If these forebodings were to be verified, it seemed not improbable that the proceedings of the National Committee would not only disclose the sort of spirit in which each side would fight the other but whether the fight was to be followed by a general break in the convention and afterward in the party at large.

The key to the situation was to be found in the attitude which the committee would take on the Southern contests, and these were so much mixed up with cheap personal feuds, office-holding bosses, and the chicanery of main-chance politics, that it was somewhat difficult for even the wisest and most impartial members of the committee to reach entirely fair conclusions. The chances seemed to be, however, that there would be a Taft lineup and a Roosevelt lineup in dealing with the majority of the cases in which a plausible report might be made on either side; that there would be no compromise, and that if there should be any peacemakers in the committee they would have the job of their lives ahead of them.

BENT ON MAJORITY OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

That Roosevelt intended to turn his heaviest artillery on the committee to win a majority of its members over to his side was quickly established. R. B. Howell, of Nebraska, arrived in Chicago with a paper signed by the Nebraska State officers, certifying that he had been elected National Committeeman and bearing the seal of the State.

This paper was served on the members of the committee when they met to dispose of the two hundred and thirty contests by which Roosevelt hoped to gain undisputed control of the convention.

Howell was elected National Committeeman at the recent primaries to succeed Victor Rosewater, acting chairman of the committee. Under the regular rule of procedure, Howell was not due to take his seat until the nominations were made. But, acting in accordance with the Roosevelt plan, he demanded the right to sit at once, and half a dozen other "progressives" who were supporting the Colonel presented similar demands.

It was seen that the success of Howell would mean the unseating of other members of the committee who had been elected. In

the way of reprisal the Taft men, who counted on thirty-eight votes to eighteen for Roosevelt, were discussing the probability of voting one or two committeemen out of business. There was Ward, of New York, for instance.

Ward was elected just as other members whose seats were being demanded by newly elected committeemen. If any of these men went Ward would have to keep them company.

"There can be no question that I am now, under the laws of the State, the only person entitled to act as National Committeeman from Nebraska," said Mr. Howell.

"In support of this view I will say that I have certificates of election issued to me by Nebraska's Secretary of State, and that I have qualified to assume my duties as National Committeeman, as provided by law. Whether I will be allowed to perform the functions of the office will depend solely upon the action of the National Committee when I present my credentials.

FILES HIS CREDENTIALS.

"I am not making an application for permission to sit as a member of the National Committee at this time for personal reasons. As I am the first and only National Committeeman from Nebraska to be recognized by the laws of the State, and to be elected by the majority of the voters of the Republican party throughout the State, I believe that I would not be doing my full duty unless I filed my credentials at this time."

Col. Harry S. New made plain his belief that Mr. Howell would not be permitted to displace Mr. Rosewater at this time.

"It has always been the rule that a National Committeeman take office immediately after a national convention and serve for four years," said Mr. New. "The National Committee has no set of by-laws or a constitution, but the precedents are clearly established. The committee is not bound to recognize State laws."

The first fight was over the rules to govern the contests. The Taft men favored the readoption of the rules which governed the fighting of four years ago, as follows:

1. Contests shall be heard by the committee in executive session.

2. The daily sessions of the committee shall begin at 10 A. M. and be continuous without adjournment for lunch.

3. Contests shall be heard in the alphabetical order of the States, the Territories and other delegate districts following, and the districts in each State in the numerical order.

4. Each side shall be allowed not to exceed thirty minutes for the presentation of contests over delegate-at-large and not to exceed fifteen minutes for district contests.

5. When the grounds of the contest and the evidence relating to the same in one or more districts or the State at large are substantially identical, or when both sides to the contest shall agree, the hearing may be consolidated and the findings in the one case apply to all the cases involved. In case of such consolidation the committee may extend the time for the presentation.

6. Evidence used in the hearing of one case may be used in the hearing of any other case from the same State.

COMMITTEE DECIDES EACH CASE.

7. After the presentation of the case the contestants and their representatives shall retire and the committee shall decide the case before calling the next one, without debate, and by a *viva voce* vote, unless a demand for a roll call is sustained by at least twenty members.

8. No person claiming to be a delegate or alternate whose credentials were not filed with the committee in accordance with the provisions of recall, shall be entitled to have his name placed on the temporary roll, but where the claim is not contested it may be entered on the roll by a majority vote of the committee.

9. No person other than members of the committee and those holding proxies shall be present during the hearings, except those designated by the chairman, secretary and sergeant-at-arms to assist in the discharge of their respective duties, and except also the contestants and their attorneys and representatives.

10. No resolutions shall be considered during any of the sessions of this committee, and any introduced shall be referred without debate to the convention's committee on resolutions.

11. In cases where parties to contests have not filed or presented printed statements, briefs or arguments within the prescribed time limit, the committee may by a majority vote admit the parties to a hearing notwithstanding.

Roosevelt's men made a fight on rule 1, which prescribes hearings in executive session.

Credentials for a third set of delegates at large from Florida were received by the National Committee. There was one other State—Louisiana—where there were three contesting delegations.

This list of two hundred and thirty contests had been prepared by the clerks in the office of the secretary of the National Committee for submission to the committee:

State.	Districts.	No. of Delegates Contested.
Alabama, 6 at large, and 1, 2, 5, 6, 9.....		16
Arkansas, 4 at large, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.....		16
California, 4.....		2
District of Columbia, 2 at large.....		2
Florida, 6 at large, and 1, 2.....		12
Georgia, 4 at large, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.....		28
Indiana, 4 at large, and 1, 3, 13.....		10
Kentucky, 5 and 11.....		4
Louisiana, 6 at large, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.....		20
Michigan, 6 at large.....		6
Minnesota, 4.....		2
Mississippi, 4 at large, and 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.....		18
Missouri, 4 at large, and 1, 3, 5, 7, 14.....		14
North Carolina, 4 and 9.....		4
Oklahoma, 3.....		2
South Carolina, 1.....		2
Tennessee, 1, 2, 9, 10.....		8
Texas, 8 at large, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15.....		32
Virginia, 4 at large, and 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10.....		18
Washington, 8 at large, and 1, 2, 3.....		14
Total.....		230

How futile was the hope that Roosevelt would acquiesce in the selection of Elihu Root for temporary chairman was soon seen, however.

Colonel Roosevelt decided promptly to oppose with all his strength the seating of Root and issued a call to all his supporters to stand by him. Colonel Roosevelt declared that Mr. Root "had ranged himself against the men who stand for progressive principles within the Republican party," and said that it was William Barnes, Jr., of New York, who was to be the real head of the Taft canvass at Chicago.

The Colonel's decision to make a square issue of the seating of Mr. Root was reached after a long consultation with advisers. At Sagamore Hill were Senator Dixon, Gifford Pinchot, William L. Ward, New York; George W. Perkins, New York; Frank B. Kellogg and Andrew Rahn, both of whom are from Minnesota, and Truxton Beale, a delegate from California.

After Colonel Roosevelt had completed his statement he brought up the question of whether he is to go to the Chicago convention.

STRONG-ARM TACTICS FORESEEN.

"After hearing what the men I have seen have to say," he said, "my impression is that I will not go. I may reach a different decision if any strong-arm tactics are attempted."

Following is the statement dictated at Sagamore Hill by Colonel Roosevelt:

"In the past Mr. Root has rendered distinguished service as Secretary of State and Secretary of War. But in this contest Mr. Root ranged himself against the men who stand for progressive principles within the Republican party—that is, against the men who stand for making the Republican party in relation to the issues of the present day what it was in the days of Abraham Lincoln. He stands as the representative of the men and the policies of reaction. He is put forward by the bosses and the representatives of special privileges.

"What has recently come to my knowledge makes it clear that it is a question of the absolute duty of every progressive Republican to oppose the selection as temporary chairman at Chicago of any man put forward in the interests of the supporters of Mr. Taft in

this contest. I have before me a copy of the following telegram sent to a Roosevelt delegate from Pennsylvania, Philip K. Barber:

The National Committee has selected Senator Root, of New York, for temporary chairman of the convention at Chicago. It is reported that the Roosevelt forces will oppose the action of the committee. I am wiring you in behalf of the New York delegation, with the exception of a very few, to ask your support for Senator Root for temporary chairman. We believe this contest is the most serious one which has afflicted the Republican party, and that the attempt to nominate Mr. Roosevelt can lead only to disaster. The doctrines which he has advocated we declared in our platform at the Rochester convention to be subversive of our form of government. Will you please wire me, New York city, collect, whether we can rely on your support for Senator Root for temporary chairman?

WILLIAM BARNES, JR.

"Telegrams like this have been sent to a great number of the delegates, apparently to a great majority of them. This telegram makes the issue perfectly clear. It is one of principle, not persons. Mr. Barnes demands Mr. Root's selection as the sign of repudiation of the principles for which I stand, and as an indorsement of the doctrines enunciated at the Rochester convention, doctrines not merely reactionary but of such character that no party professing them could carry a single State in the Union.

"These doctrines are so Bourbon and reactionary that in every open primary in every Northern State since the Rochester convention was held, after full discussion, the people have overwhelmingly repudiated them.

"This telegram of Mr. Barnes shows that the plan announced in the press is true and that the leader and real head of Mr. Taft's canvass at Chicago is to be Mr. Barnes, whom Mr. Taft and his managers have chosen to represent and embody the principles for which Mr. Taft stands, a choice which casts an illuminating light on Mr. Taft's relations both to the bosses in politics and to special interests in the business world.

"In the next place it makes it perfectly clear that Mr. Root is pushed for nomination only with the purpose to secure the defeat of the principles for which the progressive Republicans stand, the principles for which the people have declared themselves by overwhelming majorities in those States where there have been popular primaries. Mr. Root's personality becomes unimportant in view of Mr. Barnes' telegram.

"Mr. Barnes stands as the representative of the very worst forms of bossism in politics. No progressive delegates can afford to vote for any man proposed by Mr. Barnes and his allies, for any such vote is a vote against popular rule and against the basic principles not merely of the Republican party but of decent American citizenship.

NOT A FACTION FIGHT.

"This is not a faction fight in the ranks of the Republican party. It is a fight between the plain people, the rank and file of the Republican party making up the immense majority of that party on one side, and on the other the bosses, with back of them the great sinister special interests which are endeavoring to sustain the cause of privilege by perpetuating the combination between crooked policies and crooked business.

"There have been direct Presidential primaries so far in the States of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, New Jersey, North Dakota, Maryland, California, Oregon and Nebraska. In these States the popular vote against Mr. Taft has been between two and three to one, and often over that, and he has secured only thirty-eight delegates out of a total of three hundred and forty-four. In certain other States—Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Oklahoma, North Carolina, West Virginia, Washington and Vermont—there were primaries which, while not direct Presidential primaries, still give a rough approximation of the actual sentiment of the States.

"In these States I secured one hundred and fifty-four delegates and Mr. Taft secured seventeen, with three uninstructed. In those

cases where the Republican voters have had a fair chance to express their convictions they have repudiated Mr. Taft so completely that he has been able to obtain less than one-eighth of the delegates, his popular vote being but one in three or four and in some cases only one in nine or ten.

"The great majority of the Republican party have unequivocally repudiated Mr. Taft. If the wishes of the Republican voters could be given fair expression, Mr. Taft would have but a corporal's guard in the convention. Under these circumstances it is fitting and appropriate that Mr. Barnes should be chosen to lead the Taft forces at Chicago in the effort to over-ride the expressed wish of the rank and file of the party, and to give the nomination to the candidate whom the party has explicitly and beyond all question repudiated.

DECLARES HIS DOCTRINES.

"Mr. Barnes in the telegram above quoted states that the doctrines which I have advocated are subversive of our form of government. The doctrines that I have advocated are, first, the right of the people to rule, and second, their duty so to rule as to bring about not merely political but also social and industrial justice. These doctrines are subversive only of the form of government for which Mr. Barnes stands—that is, of government by the bosses for the special interests.

"Mr. Barnes has always been frank. He thoroughly distrusts the people, and says so. He disbelieves in democracy. In his preaching and in his practices he embodies boss rule in its most offensive form. The kind of representative government he believes in is that in which the representatives shall represent not the people but Mr. Barnes and the other bosses.

"Mr. Taft's nomination at Chicago can only be brought about by nullifying the will of the people and by fraudulently seating a sufficient number of boss-picked and boss-controlled delegates in the place of those who have been legally elected by the people themselves. Among all the bosses of the United States, among all the men who represent the combination of privilege in business and privilege in politics, there is probably no other man more eminently

fit than Mr. Barnes to be entrusted with the carrying out of such a program.

‘The program cannot possibly succeed if the convention is left to itself. Our opponents have shown that they will stop at nothing in the effort to subvert the will of the people duly and deliberately expressed. From those Southern States where there is no real Republican party they have sent delegations secured by the most unblushing use of the Federal patronage.

‘In States like New York, where the machine has deliberately declined to permit the people to participate in the nomination of candidates, Taft delegates have also been sent. Wherever it has been possible to choose Taft delegates in defiance to the popular will this has been done. At this moment such an instance is afforded by Ohio.

THIRTY THOUSAND AGAINST MR. TAFT.

‘In Ohio at the recent primary the majority against Mr. Taft’s nomination was thirty thousand. High-minded and honorable men would under such circumstances refuse to accept delegates who would perforce represent not the majority but the repudiation of the majority. Yet at this moment the Taft managers in Ohio are straining every nerve and using every means to upset the people’s verdict and give the delegates-at-large of Ohio to the man whom Ohio by an overwhelming majority declared ought not to have them.

‘But in spite of all these efforts the convention, if left to itself, will be heavily against Mr. Taft. His whole chance of winning depends not upon the vote of the national convention but upon his hopes and plans for securing improper action by the National Committee.

‘The National Committee consists of men chosen four years ago. In the theory their functions are merely to decide honestly and fairly election cases affecting the *prima facie* rights of delegates to seats and to proffer for temporary chairman some man who will be acceptable to the convention. Mr. Barnes’ telegram quoted above shows that in reality the purpose of certain among them is to frustrate the will of the people and to secure such organization of the

convention as will make the will of the bosses paramount over the will of the people.

"I do not believe that the National Committee, as a whole, will follow the lead of Mr. Barnes and his allies in this matter. The success of Mr. Barnes at Chicago, the possibility of his nominating Mr. Taft, depends upon his ability to thwart the deliberate judgment of the people, to upset the popular verdict of the rank and file of the Republican party given at the primaries, and to substitute for it the decision of those political bosses who have stood in the past and who now stand for the destruction of popular rights and the cynical abandonment of good faith and honesty in public life.

STANDS FOR THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE.

"In this contest I have stood unequivocally for the right of the people to rule themselves. There are many honest men who have not agreed with me in this contest and who do not believe that the people are fit to rule themselves. But surely these men must agree with us when we come down to a question of naked right and wrong, such as is involved in the effort of Mr. Barnes and his associates on behalf of Mr. Taft to reverse the popular verdict and to nominate at Chicago some man whom the rank and file of the Republican party have declared that they do not desire to see nominated.

"The question of popular rule is involved in this matter, but more is involved. The whole question of keeping faith with the people is involved. Mr. Barnes can carry through his plan only if a sufficient number of National Committeemen can be induced in flagrant violation of every principle of fair dealing to seat in the convention certain delegates who have not been elected by the people, and who have not the slightest right to a seat, and if, furthermore, the convention is content to sit supine while this is done.

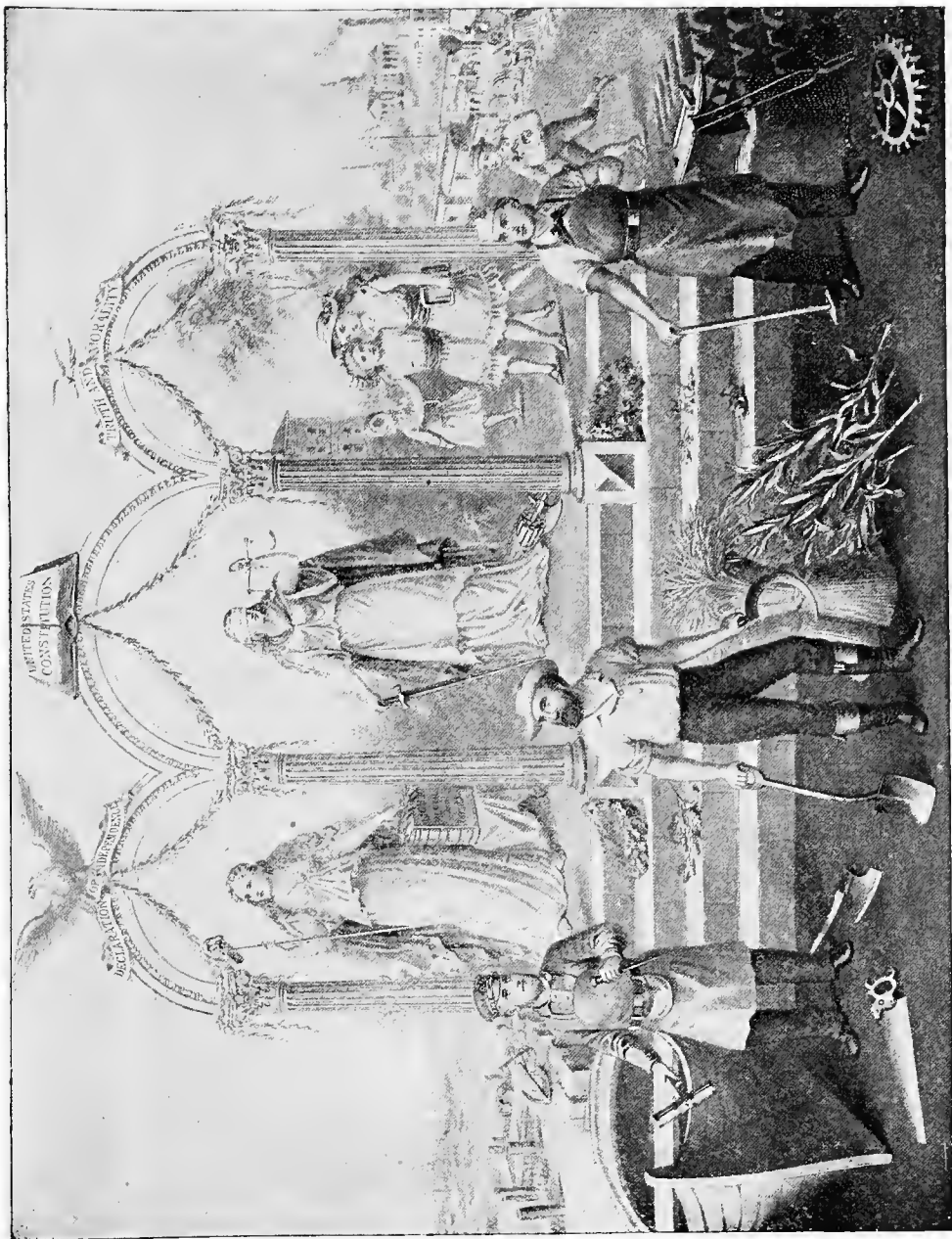
"I believe that the expectations of Mr. Barnes and his associates will be disappointed in both particulars. I believe that there are in the National Committee enough men who, although they have in good faith supported Mr. Taft, will decline to permit themselves to be made tools for the accomplishment of his nomination by unworthy methods.

"No man should be chosen as temporary chairman who is put forward by Mr. Barnes and those men who represent the principles and practices of Mr. Barnes, for any such man could not but be held responsible for the reactionary bourbonism of the Rochester platform and for the views expressed in Mr. Barnes' telegram quoted above. Under these circumstances, Mr. Root's own personality is not the issue. His victory would be the victory of Mr. Barnes, his defeat the defeat of Mr. Barnes.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

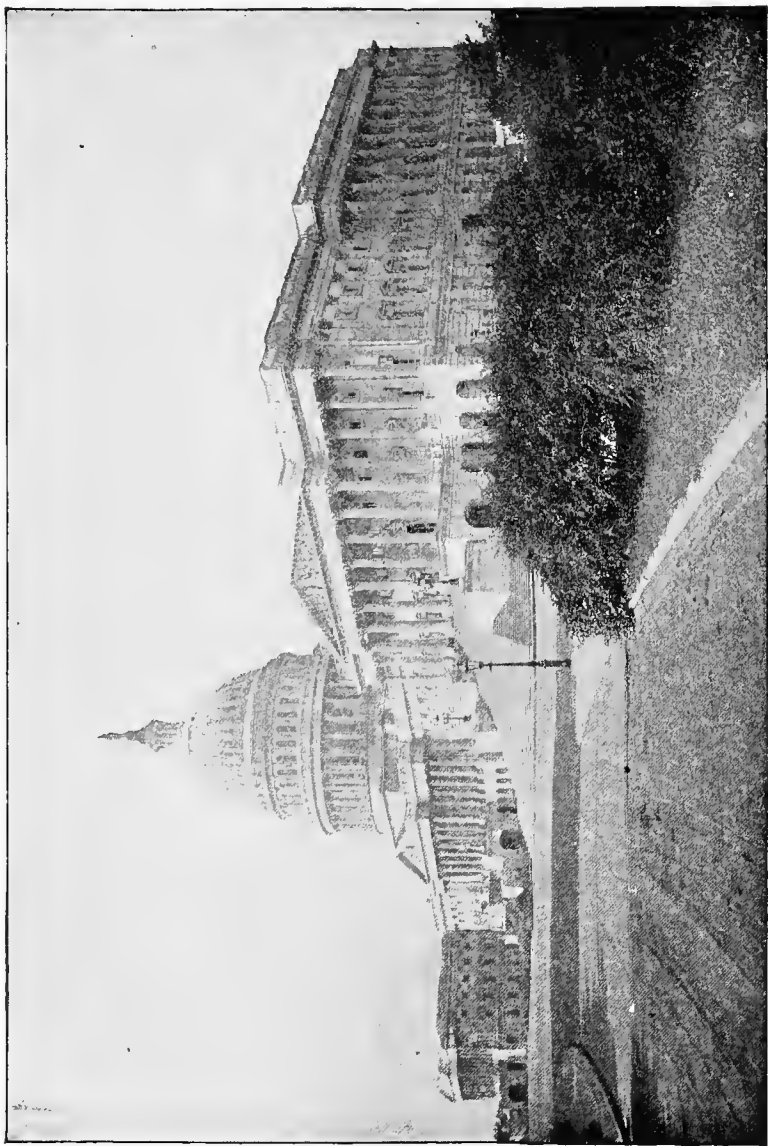
It is now history how this trenchant warning was disregarded, how Roosevelt delegates were unseated, how the will of the people was defied, how the bosses and the trust hirelings stole the nomination for Taft, while the Roosevelt men sat silent and refused to vote; how the President's renomination was accomplished, even by the aid of scores of stolen delegates, by only the narrowest of margins, and in the face of certain defeat at the polls.

Elsewhere in this volume, is told the wonderful story of the moral uprising of protest that met in Chicago some six weeks later, organized as the Progressive Party, and unanimously chose Roosevelt and Johnson as its standard bearers.



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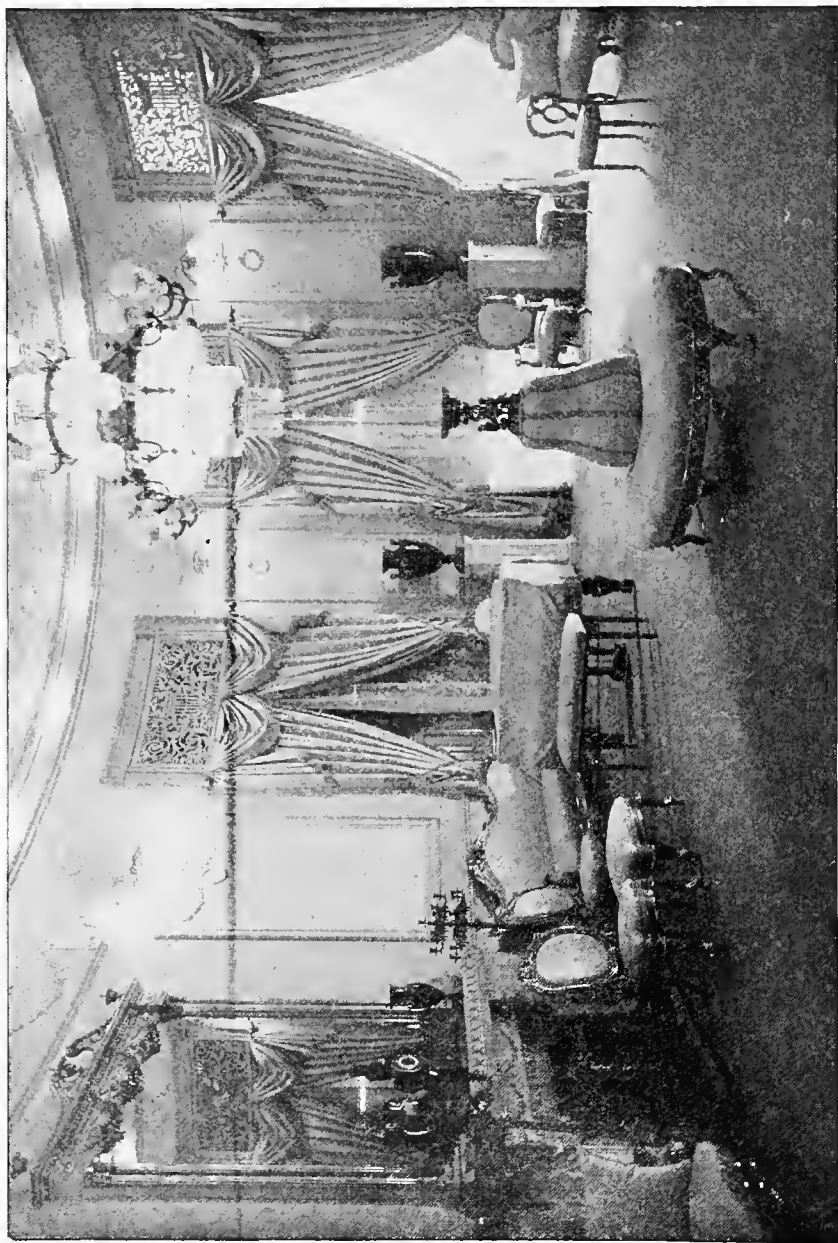
A NATION'S PRIDE AND A NATION'S WEALTH



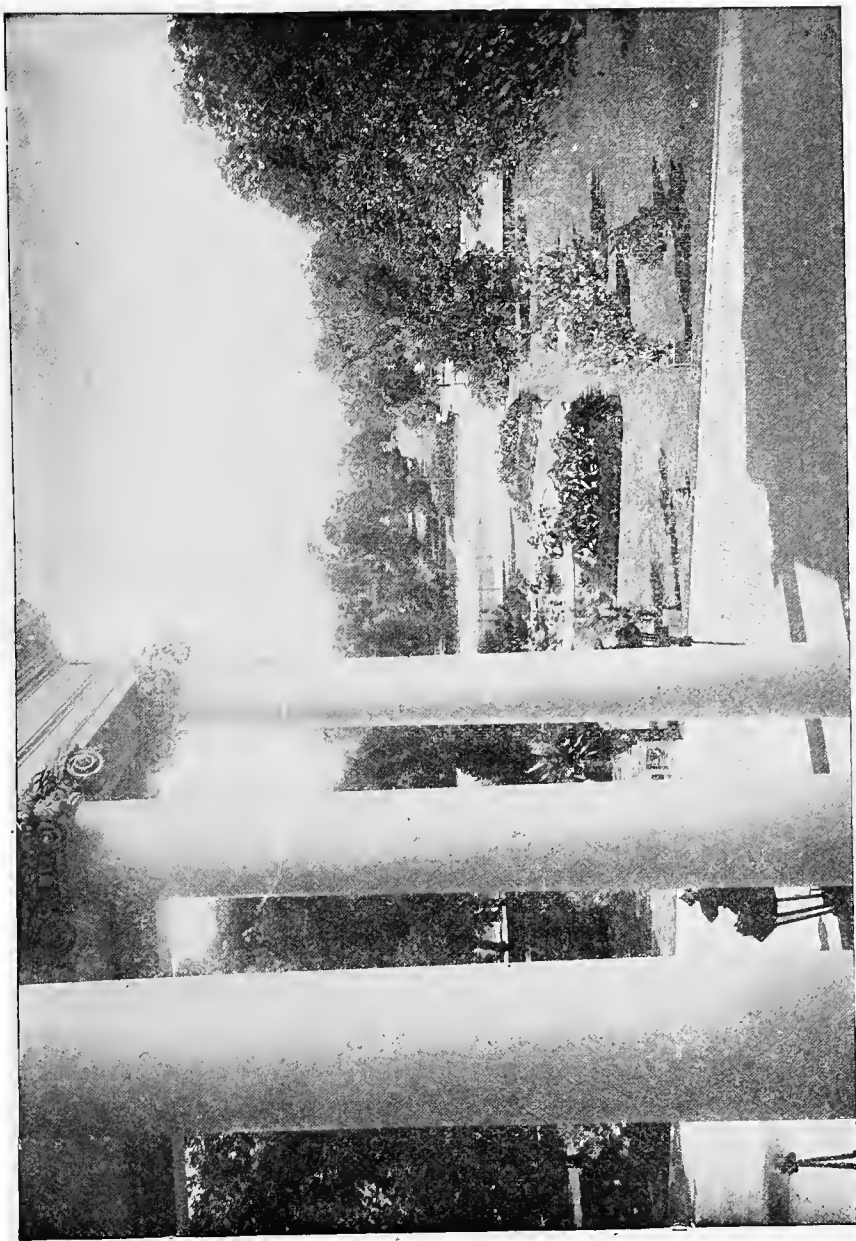
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON



THE WHITE HOUSE—WASHINGTON



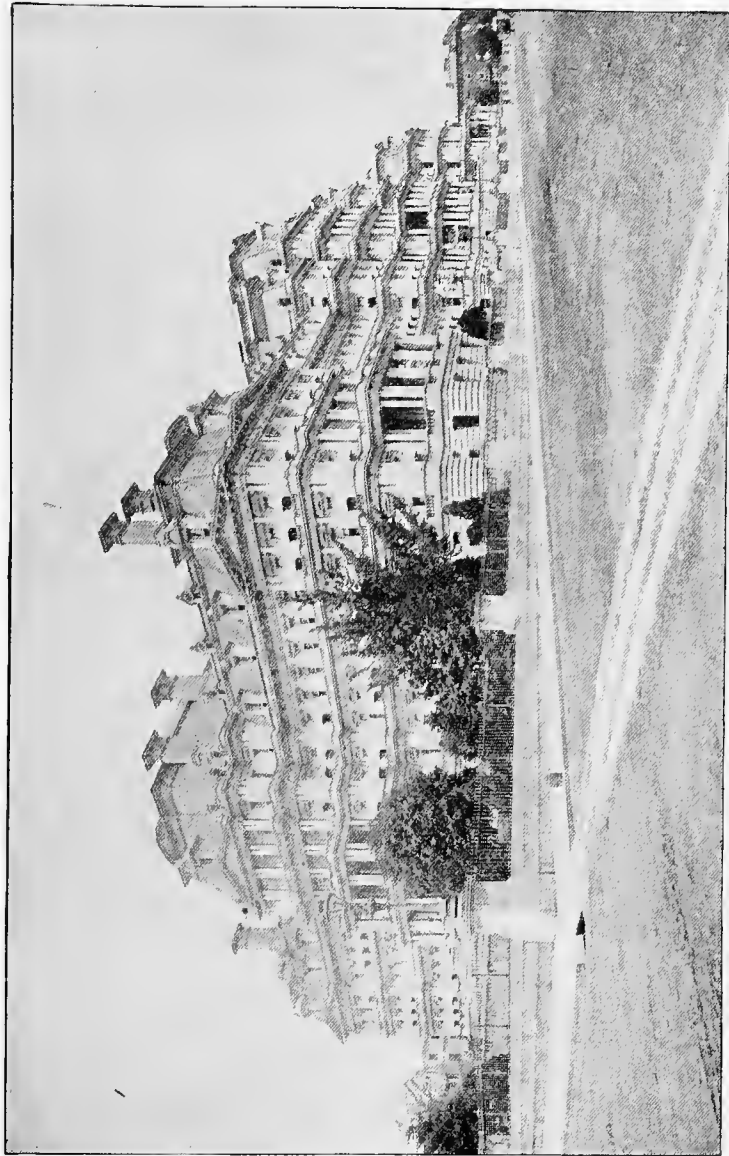
THE BLUE ROOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE



VIEW OF THE GROUNDS FROM A WINDOW IN THE WHITE HOUSE



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THE
UNITED STATES of AMERICA



"Distinct as the Billows yet one as the Sea."

CHAPTER V

THE PROGRESSIVE POSITION.

Theodore Roosevelt is the great exemplar of Americanism. By word and deed he preserves the tradition which is the compelling principle of our life as a people, the theory of man's born equality with man.

Without a moment's hesitation the most mercenary and unscrupulous agent of the special privilege at the Chicago convention would affirm his belief in all the saving doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. But theirs is faith without works.

You true reactionary, you big business man, you corporation lawyer, would scorn to trample on the American flag; yet every day of his life he wipes his boots upon all the ideals for which it stands.

The difference between Roosevelt and the Taft adherents is exactly the difference between American ideals and the practice of present-day corporations and their political tools.

THWARTS THE PUBLIC WILL.

At the Chicago convention the Taft politicians have borne out by their actions every charge the people ever made against them. The principal result of their convention thievery has been to convince the people that the Republican party, as constituted, thwarts rather than represents the public will.

The American idea of liberty, though cast aside by the men who by wealth misrule the country, has been cherished and nurtured in the bosoms of the people. Their just anger at the perversion of their ideal is the growth of years of exploitation, yet never has it grown so fast as during the last days at Chicago. The people ascribe the woes of the nation to the poisonous politics of the Republican party as now constituted.

The people have tried the Republican party and have found it guilty of treason against freedom and Americanism. The

people will not march in step with traitors. The bosses at Chicago have never been more than the officers of the great army of voters. The bosses can march alone; the people have chosen another leader.

It only remains for Theodore Roosevelt to utter the final word of command and he will have the nation rallying to his standard. All men who believe that freedom should be exalted above political expediency, who hold that money does not make right, nor avarice bestow license, are volunteers in Roosevelt's command.

Their number is legion, and their power will override all obstructions.

THE CRIME AT CHICAGO.

The Republican National Convention has done the work which its masters ordained that it should do. It has nominated a candidate and has wrecked a party. The candidate of its choice is known wherever men assembled, whether it be at the cross-roads store or in the marts of great cities, by the contemptuous sobriquet of "the man who cannot win." The party which it has ruined is the Republican party, victorious for generations, founded by wise and patriotic men who believed that they had wrought for the ages.

The sentiment in every heart, repeated by every lip, is, "What a pity!" What a pity it is that so great a party, with so glorious a history, destined in the ordinary course of events to serve the nation honorably for generations to come, should be dashed to pieces for the sake of so negligible a man!

It is astonishing that it should be so. Every man of voting age in the country has been clear-sighted enough to see and to remark to his neighbors that the national convention day after day was dashing blindly towards ruin. Only the Taft delegates to the convention failed to see the grim menace of defeat and political oblivion towards which they hurried, dragging the party behind them.

It matters not what the final verdict may be upon the dele-

gates for whom Roosevelt's followers waged their glorious but losing fight. The most blindly enthusiastic follower of Taft cannot persuade himself that every single member of the notorious "stolen roll" was justly entitled to his seat as a Taft delegate.

And if they were—if the Taft majority in the convention were legally flawless—it still would be physically unrepresentative. The primary states proved that the nation stood for Roosevelt and no other. The states which had no primaries, and which furnished Taft with his strongest delegations, are so thoroughly un-Republican that they are recognized everywhere as mere "rotten boroughs." They came with their skeleton organization of delegates, unbacked by the flesh and blood and muscle of stanch Republican voters, and carried the day against the nominee of the people.

URNS ITS BACK UPON THE PEOPLE.

Perhaps it is fortunate that the convention turned its back upon the people. The men who swung the whip and drove the delegates for Taft called their aggregation of cowed officeholders and servants of special interests a "Republican national convention."

These same men could go back to their native states and call themselves the leaders of the local Republican party. They cannot be expected to uphold the name of Republicanism any better at home than in the convention. They are a disgrace to the Republican principles of their fathers, and, as they have brought the party which they control to its present low estate, it is just as well that they and their party with them should be thrust aside to make room for decency and progress.

They early made it impossible for Roosevelt to accept the Republican nomination. They have ruined the party of which he was the chief and, latterly, the only ornament. But they have assisted in the birth of a new order, which will combine for the future the worthy principles which they abandoned, and the newer doctrines of social justice and absolute political freedom.

It is impossible any longer to delude the American people. The speech of Root in the Chicago Coliseum provided that revelation, and that only. The master-sophist did his work with his usual ability. His adroit intellect never was exerted in the interest of his client, special privilege, more dexterously. Twenty years ago—even ten years ago—his smooth, tactful and persuasive rhetoric would have been acclaimed by most readers a great oration by a patriot and statesman.

But the day of delusion is done. The American people have seen the light. And their reason pierces the trickery of the periods of Root, and they appraise his special pleading and intellectual chicanery at their exact worth.

"INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS."

The smooth, tortuous advocacy so prized and praised by Harriman and Whitney and Ryan and Havemeyer and all of Elihu Root's other employers was never employed with more seeming depth of sincerity than in his fervent pleadings that all the differences that exist among Republicans are but mere minor variances of "individual opinions, individual interests, individual attractions and repulsions," regarding which it is the solemn duty of all to abandon them submissively to the constituted party authorities. For so runs the gospel preached by Root, that "the lofty purpose of its great originators has been transmitted by spiritual succession from generation to generation of party leaders."

It was all superlatively plausible, because it was Root in his smoothest and most sinuous guise writhing his hardest to attain a semblance of intellectual integrity and consistency. But for the first time the master juggler of laws and champion of evasion failed utterly to deceive. His mask was threadbare to transparency. And through it the American people saw him as he is and over his shoulder the foul thing he serves, whispering orders in his ear.

Not even the ice-smooth sophistry of the ablest servant of the powers of oppression can fool the people now. For they,

know at last that they stand on one side of a line that never can be obliterated, while on the other stands the arch-foe of democracy and human rights, special privilege, with its agents and instruments, among whom in the highest place such prostitutes of great gifts as Elihu Root.

His was a brilliant brief that the superb lawyer submitted for his felon client. But it is weighed at its true worth by the nation that knows Theodore Roosevelt, who spoke the plain truth right in these words:

"A period of changes is upon us. Our opponents, the men of reaction, ask us to stand still, but we could not stand still if we would. We must either go forward or go backward. Never was the need more imperative than now for men of vision who are also men of action.

DISASTER AHEAD.

"Disaster is ahead of us if we trust to the leadership of men whose souls are seared and whose eyes are blinded, men of cold heart and narrow mind, who believe we can find safety in dull timidity and dull inaction.

"The unrest cannot be quieted by ingenious trickery of those who profess to advance by merely marking time, or who seek to drown the cry for justice by loud and insincere clamor about issues that are false and issues that are dead. The trumpets sound the advance, and their appeal cannot be drowned by repeating the war cries of bygone battles, the victory shouts of vanished hosts."

It is wholesome for sensible men to study the legerdemain that once could fool them to their hurt and to study the springs of the traps into which they once were lured blindly, yet are so easy to avoid when once the trickery is understood. So it is well to notice in some detail the speech of Root, which is the whole political gospel of special privilege.

That he made the best of Mr. Taft's deplorable tariff record was excusable. He had to. He could not ignore the subject. And, on the whole, he glossed over the matter with excellent

skill, even though it was straining the privilege of an attorney for the defense somewhat to praise unqualifiedly the "wise and courageous vetoes" and declare the entire record one of "consistent policy and faithful service."

It was more jarring for former Secretary of State Root to assert unblushingly that this administration has "maintained and promoted * * * the dignity, honor and just interests of the United States among the nations." For none better than the strong successor of John Hay knows the humiliations of the "dollar diplomacy," the shame of Mr. Taft's Canadian confession of duplicity and the cost of our forfeiture of friendships and respect in Latin-America and Asia.

GLORIES OF ALDRICH'S SCHEME.

That he trumpeted without qualification the glories of Aldrich's scheme to create a monopoly of money and credit was to be expected from Elihu Root, trust architect. And we concede to him sincerity in his declaration that "it is for the interest of every business man in the United States that the party controlling the government shall not be changed until this policy has been carried into execution." For the business of Wall street is the business held of paramount consideration by special privilege and all who serve it.

There followed, however, a series of the most insolent and dishonest affronts to the intelligence of the public ever proffered by a man honored as Senator Root has been. He claimed for the party organization unquestioning support, because under the present administration "derelictions from official duty are sternly punished, and a high standard of official morality is maintained"—the administration that ostracizes Pinchot and Glavis and eulogizes Ballinger as a martyr; that identifies itself with Lorimer and shields Archbold; that forces out Wiley and retains in place and favor Wilson and McCabe.

Root, the trust-maker, has the effrontery to boast of dissolution of Standard Oil and his own Tobacco trust, while knowing how profitable to his clients the Taft-Wickersham sham has

been, and that within the week Standard Oil's vice-president has given sworn testimony that the trust's affairs are managed in the same fashion as before the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution and a distribution of the stock of its subsidiary companies and the abolition of their interlocking directorates.

With full knowledge of the struggle of the progressive senators to alter into a useful law the iniquitous administration draft of the railroad bill and the purposes of the creation of the Commerce Court and its disgraceful history, Senator Root did not hesitate to proclaim as a triumph that "upon the recommendation of the President the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission have been greatly enlarged and their control over railroad rates and railroad service made more effective."

But the climax of disingenuous effrontery was not capped until he asserted that "the conservation of natural resources has been in the hands of its friends." And this from the member of the Senate Committee that heard the whole history of the attempted transfer of Alaska to the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate and voted consistently to conceal the truth about Mr. Taft's connection with the shameful Lawler memorandum and the false antedated Wickersham report.

Only in two other passages did Elihu Root more clearly reveal himself, the cause he represents and the men he serves. One was when he added to his speech, as given out for publication, a casual slighting reference to "the so-called poor." The other was when he declared as Republican the novel doctrine that "the freedom that our fathers fought for was freedom of conscience from the control of majorities."

It was an illuminating oration. It was the perfection of appropriateness and could have come from none other so fittingly as from the proud receiver of stolen goods from the hands of a band that can be rightly described only in the words Elihu Root once applied to an aggregation less dishonorable and far less harmful to the party and the nation:

"A corrupt and criminal combination masquerading under the name Republican."

CHAPTER VI

ROOSEVELT SOUNDS KEY NOTE.

Theodore Roosevelt, in accepting the temporary nomination of the Progressive party for the presidency, declared that the fight is one for principles, not men; a contest that cannot be settled along partisan lines. He said:

"Gentlemen: I thank you for your nomination, and in you I recognize the lawfully elected delegates to the Republican convention, who represent the overwhelming majority of the voters who took part in the Republican primaries prior to the convention, and who represent the wish of the majority of the lawfully elected members of the convention. I accept the nomination, subject to but one condition:

"This has now become a contest which cannot be settled merely along the old party lines. The principles that are at stake are as broad and as deep as the foundations of our democracy itself. They are in no sense sectional. They should appeal to all honest citizens, east or west, north and south; they should appeal to all right-thinking men, whether Republicans or Democrats, without regard to their previous party affiliations.

"I feel that the time has come when not only all men who believe in progressive principles, but all men who believe in those elementary maxims of public and private morality which must underlie every form of successful free government should join in our movement. Therefore, I ask you to go to your several homes to find out the sentiment of the people at home, and then again to come together, I suggest by mass convention, to nominate for the presidency a progressive candidate on a progressive platform, a candidate and a platform that will enable us to appeal to Northerner and Southerner, Easterner and Westerner, Republican and Democrat alike, in the name of our common American citizenship. If you wish me to make the fight I will make it,

even if only one state should support me. The only condition I impose is that you shall feel entirely free when you come together to substitute any other man in my place if you deem it better for the movement, and in such case I will give him my heartiest support.

"Wherever in any state the Republican party is true to the principles of its founders, and is genuinely the party of justice and of progress, I expect to see it come bodily into the new movement, for the convention that has just sat in this city is in no proper sense of the word a Republican convention at all. It does not represent the masses of the Republican party. It was organized in cynical defiance of their wishes, and it has served the purpose only of a group of sinister political bosses, who have not one shadow of sympathy with the spirit and purpose of the Republican party of fifty years ago, and many of whom have used the party merely as an adjunct to money making, either for themselves or for the great crooked financial interests which they serve.

AN AGENT OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.

"The bosses who first stole enough delegates to enable them to dominate this convention, and then did their will in it, have no kinship of soul or spirit with the men who started the Republican party on its career as an agent of liberty and justice. Imagine for yourselves how Messrs. Barnes and Penrose and Guggenheim would have looked standing under the historic oaks in that Michigan city where the Republican party was born fifty-six years ago.

"You, my friends, who are here before me, you are the heirs in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, when he refused longer to be bound by the shackles of the past and faced the new issues in the new spirit that the times demanded. But we are more fortunate in one respect than our predecessors, for we, who now stand for the progressive cause, the progressive movement, have done forever with all sectionalism, and we make our appeal equally to the sons of the men who fought under Grant and to the sons of

the men who fought under Lee, for the cause we champion is as emphatically the cause of the South as it is the cause of the North.

"I am in this fight for certain principles, and the first and most important of these goes back to Sinai, and is embodied in the commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal.' Thou shalt not steal a nomination. Thou shalt neither steal in politics nor in business. Thou shalt not steal from the people the birthright of the people to rule themselves. I hold, in the language of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, that 'stealing is stealing.' No people is wholly civilized where a distinction is drawn between stealing an office and stealing a purse. No truly honest man should be satisfied with an office to which his title is not as valid as that of the homestead which shelters his family.

GRAVITY OF THE CRISIS.

"I do not know whether our countrymen fully realize the gravity of the crisis which we at this moment face. There is no use in holding primaries, no use in holding elections if we permit a small group of unscrupulous politicians, some of whom are certainly acting in the interests of big crooked business to exercise the veto power over these primaries and elections by upsetting the results at their own pleasure.

"The convention which to-day closes its discreditable career here in Chicago represents a negligible minimum of the rank and file of the Republican party. But what it has done and what it has provided for the future offer material for very serious consideration. The old national committee, chosen by the politicians four years ago, made up a temporary roll, including some ninety fraudulent delegates who had not been elected by the people, and thereby they controlled a majority of the convention. This fraudulent temporary roll in turn chose a fraudulent Credentials Committee, and all the fraudulent delegates voting on one another's cases thereby made up the permanent roll which constituted the fraudulent convention. Then this fraudulent convention chooses a new and not less fraudulent committee.

"Now, gentlemen, there are those who ask us to stay in the party which has just fraudulently nominated for the presidency a man who inspired and profited by the fraud. They ask us to submit to infamy in the present on the ground that perhaps we may be able to prevent such infamy in the future. They seem to forget that the vicious circle has been completed, and that this fraudulent convention has provided in its fraudulent chosen national committee a means whereby they can hope once again four years hence and with like impunity to overthrow the will of the majority of the voters at the primaries.

"The national committee, over whose selection and retention in office the voters have no control whatever, makes up the fraudulent temporary roll-call which controls the national convention. The national convention thus fraudulently made up names another national committee, and the new national committee constituted by the same elements that constituted the old one, has already shown by its actions that it can be trusted four years hence to repeat the misbehavior of the old one.

NO FEELING BUT CONTEMPT.

"The vicious circle must be broken. The powerful crooked political bosses have and ought to have no feeling but contempt for the honest men who submit to their violent and unscrupulous dishonesty. If we permit fraud of this kind to triumph we do a shameful thing, and show either that we are faint at heart or dull of conscience.

"As for the principles for which I stand, I have set them forth fully in the many speeches I have made during the last four months, while making an active contest for the nomination which I won and out of which I have been cheated by the men who feared to see these principles reduced to action. Fundamentally, these principles are, first, that the people have the right to rule themselves, and can do so better than any outsiders can rule them, and, second, that it is their duty so to rule in a spirit of justice toward every man and every woman within our

borders, and to use the government so far as possible as an instrument for obtaining not merely political but industrial justice.

"We do not stand for these principles as mere abstractions any more than we stand for honesty and fair play as mere abstractions. We seek to apply them practically in every relation of life where we have power. We stand for honesty and fair play. We practically apply the commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and we wish to give a square deal to every citizen of this republic so that he may have a chance to show the stuff there is in him, unhelped by privilege himself and unhampered by privilege of others. I hold that we are performing a high duty in inaugurating this movement, for the permanent success of practices such as have obtained in the fraudulent convention that has just closed its sittings would mean the downfall of this republic; and we are performing the most patriotic of duties when we set our faces like flint against such wrong."

This masterly presentation of his own and the Progressive party's position came as a result of the following resolution:

DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

"We, delegates and alternates to the Republican National Convention, representing a clear majority of the voters of the Republican party in the nation, and representing a clear majority of the delegates and alternates legally elected to the convention, in meeting assembled, make the following declaration:

"We were delegated by a majority of the Republican voters of our respective districts and states to nominate Theodore Roosevelt in the Republican National Convention as the candidate of our party for president, and thereby carry out the will of the voters as expressed at the primaries. We have earnestly and conscientiously striven to execute the commission intrusted to us by the party voters.

"For five days we have been denied justice in the national convention. This result has been accomplished by the action of the now defunct national committee in placing upon the preliminary roll of the convention and thereby seating upon the floor of

the convention a sufficient number of fraudulently elected delegates to control the proceedings of the convention.

"These fraudulent delegates, once seated, have by concerted action with one another, put themselves upon the permanent roll, where they constitute an influence sufficient to control the convention and defeat the will of the party as expressed at the primaries."

"We have exhausted every known means to head off this conspiracy, and to prevent this fraud upon the popular will, but without success.

"We were sent to this convention bearing the most specific instructions to place Theodore Roosevelt in nomination as the candidate of our party for president, and we therefore deem it to be our duty to carry out those instructions in the only practical and feasible way remaining open to us; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, representing the majority of the voters of the Republican party and of the delegates and alternates legally elected to the National Republican Convention, in compliance with our instructions from the party voters, hereby nominate Theodore Roosevelt as the candidate of our party for the office of president of the United States; and we call upon him to accept such nomination in compliance with the will of the party voters; and be it further

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the chair to forthwith notify Colonel Roosevelt of the action here taken and request him to appear before us in this hall as soon as convenient."

SYNOPSIS OF PROGRESSIVE DOCTRINES.

*“TO-DAY neither of the old parties is either wholly progressive or wholly reactionary. * * * At the present moment notorious bosses are in the saddle of both in important States.”*

“The special interests use both parties. They are the invisible government behind our visible government. Democratic and Republican bosses alike are brother officers of this hidden power.”

“The root of the wrongs which hurt the people is the fact that the people’s government has been taken away from them. The first purpose of the Progressive party is to make sure the rule of the people.”

“Behind rotten laws and preventing sound laws stands the corrupt boss; behind the corrupt boss stands the robber interest, and commanding these powers of pillage stands human greed. It is this conspiracy of evil we must overthrow.”

*“We mean to make our business laws clear instead of foggy. * * * The tariff must be taken out of politics and treated as a business question instead of as a political question. The greatest need of business is certainty, but the only thing certain about our tariff is uncertainty.”*

*“The Democratic platform declares for free trade; but free trade is wrong and ruinous. The Republican platform permits extortion; but tariff extortion is robbery by law. The Progressive party is for honest protection. * * * The Payne-Aldrich law must be revised immediately in accordance with these principles. A genuine, non-partisan tariff commission must be fixed in the law as firmly as the interstate commerce commission.”*

“We are for the conservation of our natural resources; but even more we are for the conservation of human life.”—From former Senator Beveridge’s address.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION.

MEETS IN CHICAGO AND NOMINATES ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON—BEVERIDGE DELIVERS KEYNOTE SPEECH—HYMNS SUNG AT START—AN IMPRESSIVE GATHERING—NO FRIVOLITY, BUT SOBER EARNESTNESS—ROOSEVELT VOICES PROGRESSIVE CREED.

On the fifth day of August, 1912, one thousand serious, earnest and almost fanatical men and women met in the Coliseum at Chicago to create a new party. Every one of them believed that he or she was a crusader. There was no levity and there was a solemn gravity that was striking and impressive.

Theodore Roosevelt may or may not be bitten by personal ambition, but the men who are following him believe sincerely that they are followers of the Lord, enlisted for the battle of Armageddon. They may be absolutely wrong about it, but about the strength of their convictions there cannot remain a doubt in the mind of anybody who saw that strange, moving and compelling spectacle in the Coliseum.

It was not a convention at all. It was an assemblage of enthusiasts. It was such a convention as Peter the Hermit held. It was a Methodist campmeeting done over into political terms. From Jane Addams, of Hull House fame, sitting in the first rank below the platform, to Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, sitting half-way down the hall, there was an expression on every face of fanatical and religious enthusiasm while they listened to their chairman, former Senator Beveridge, and believed—obviously and certainly believed—that they were enlisted in a contest with the powers of darkness.

Mr. Beveridge's speech was strong in its appeal to the kind of sentiment that he knew to be prevalent in the convention. It was the best speech he ever delivered in his life. He knew the Lutheran and Garrisonian strain in his audience, and he skillfully bent his speech to that element. He is a phrase-maker equal to Colonel Ingersoll.

The band played such airs as "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," Julia Ward Howe's famous song, and when the men and women delegates got up and joined in such songs they did it almost with frenzy.

It was a good-looking convention. The low-brow was conspicuously absent; wherever you looked you saw clean-cut looking young fellows or old men who evidently stayed home at night. It looked less like the average Republican or Democratic convention than one ever saw.

When the Rev. T. F. Dornblazer, Lutheran pastor, delivered the opening prayer, he was interrupted continuously with shouts of "Amen!" Beveridge wound up his speech with a quotation from Julia Ward Howe's "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Coming of the Glory of the Lord."

And when he did, the whole convention burst out spontaneously in song. They sang every verse of Mrs. Howe's majestic hymn except one, and nobody had to tell them the words.

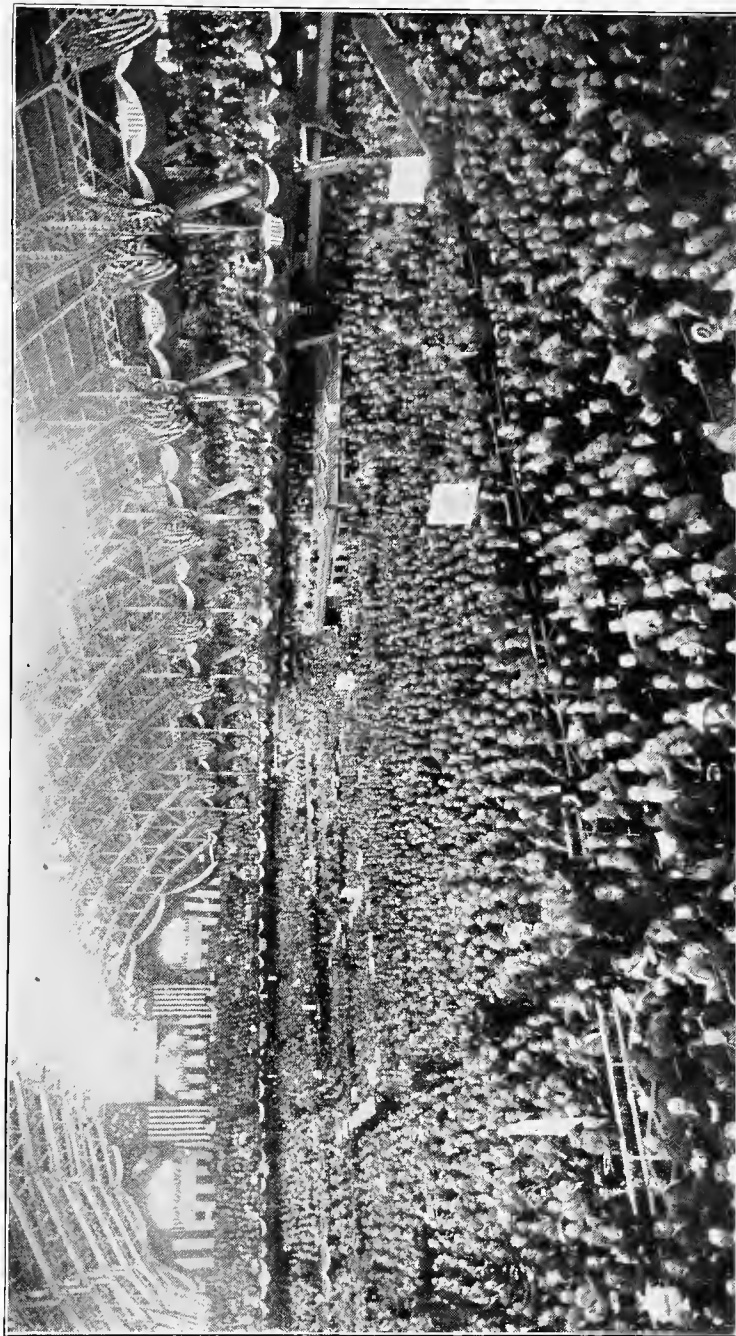
CONVENTION IS DIFFERENT.

Yes, it was a convention that was "different." The convention was to have met at noon, but it was an hour later before it began business. The delegations cheered each other as they came in in a friendly and hospitable spirit, and when the band began playing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" the Indiana delegation climbed its chairs and led the singing.

The galleries were sparsely filled, but this was not a gallery convention—it was a delegates' convention. The hall was the same as that in which the Taft men nominated their candidate a few weeks before, and the arrangements were so much the same that it seemed as if one convention might have adjourned over night and left the hall to the other.

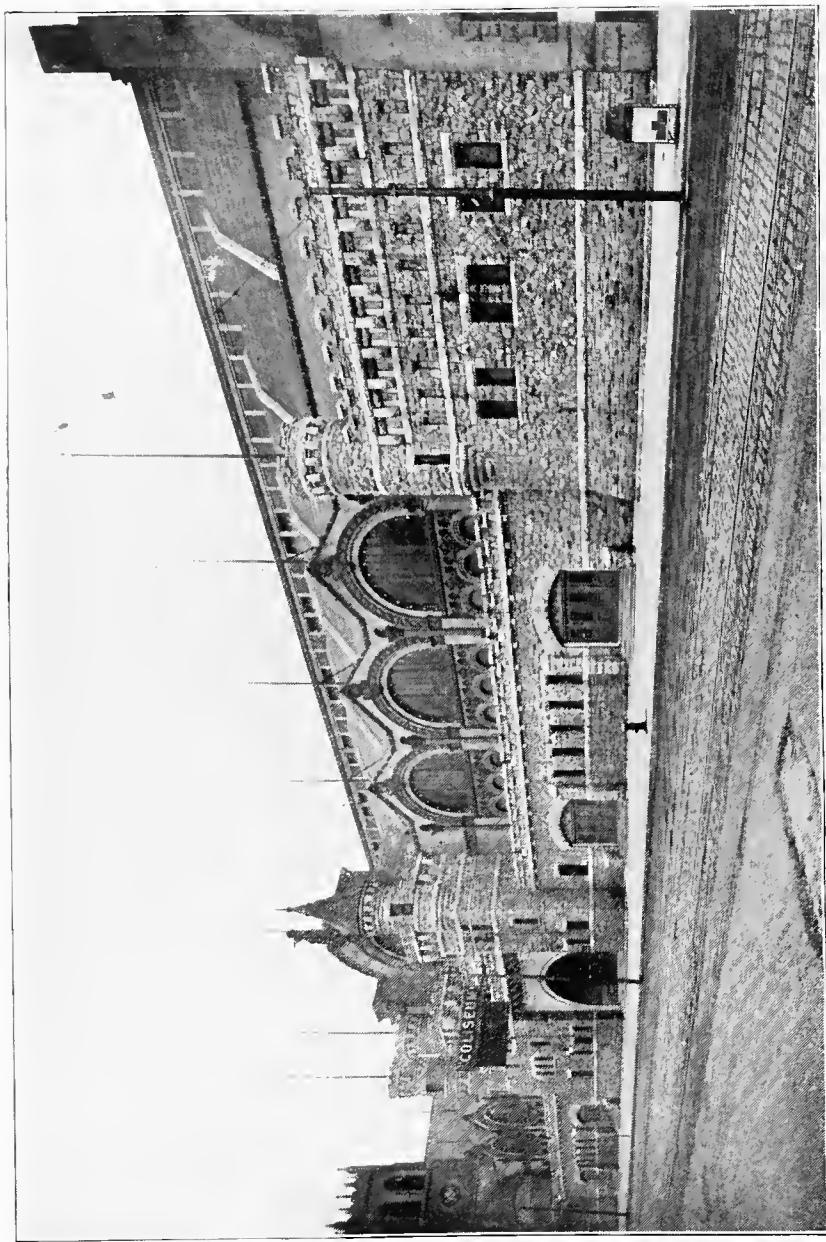
"Purple row," where in June the millionaires' wives sat, presented a strangely different appearance. It was filled with women in shirtwaists and young girls, who occupied the same seats in which the "millionairesses" sat six weeks before. The "millionairesses" used to sit with frozen faces, and the only time they woke to enthusiasm was when Assistant Chief of Police Schuettler issued orders to keep a Roosevelt woman enthusiast in her seat by force.

But these women, who did not cheer loosely, were intent and earnest,



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PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION.
HELD IN THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, WHICH WILL HOLD 13,770 PEOPLE.



COLISEUM BUILDING, CHICAGO, WHERE THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION WAS HELD. THIS IS THE LARGEST CONVENTION HALL IN THE UNITED STATES. IT WILL HOLD 13,770 PEOPLE.



A. J. BEVERIDGE,
EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR OF INDIANA.

United States of America

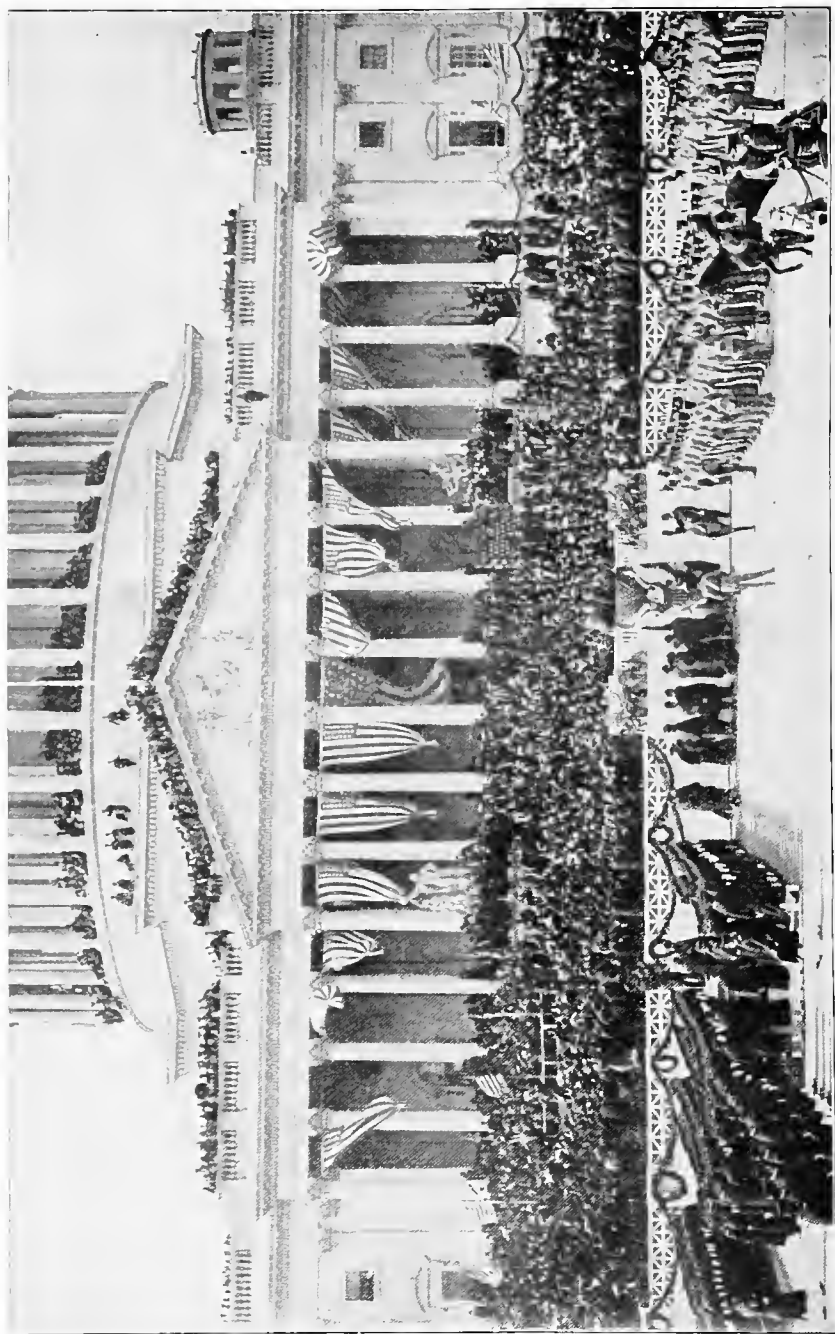




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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THIS IS AN EXCELLENT PORTRAIT OF THE COLONEL, PICTURING HIM AS HE IS AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-THREE, IN THE PRIME OF LIFE AND IN THE BEST OF HEALTH.



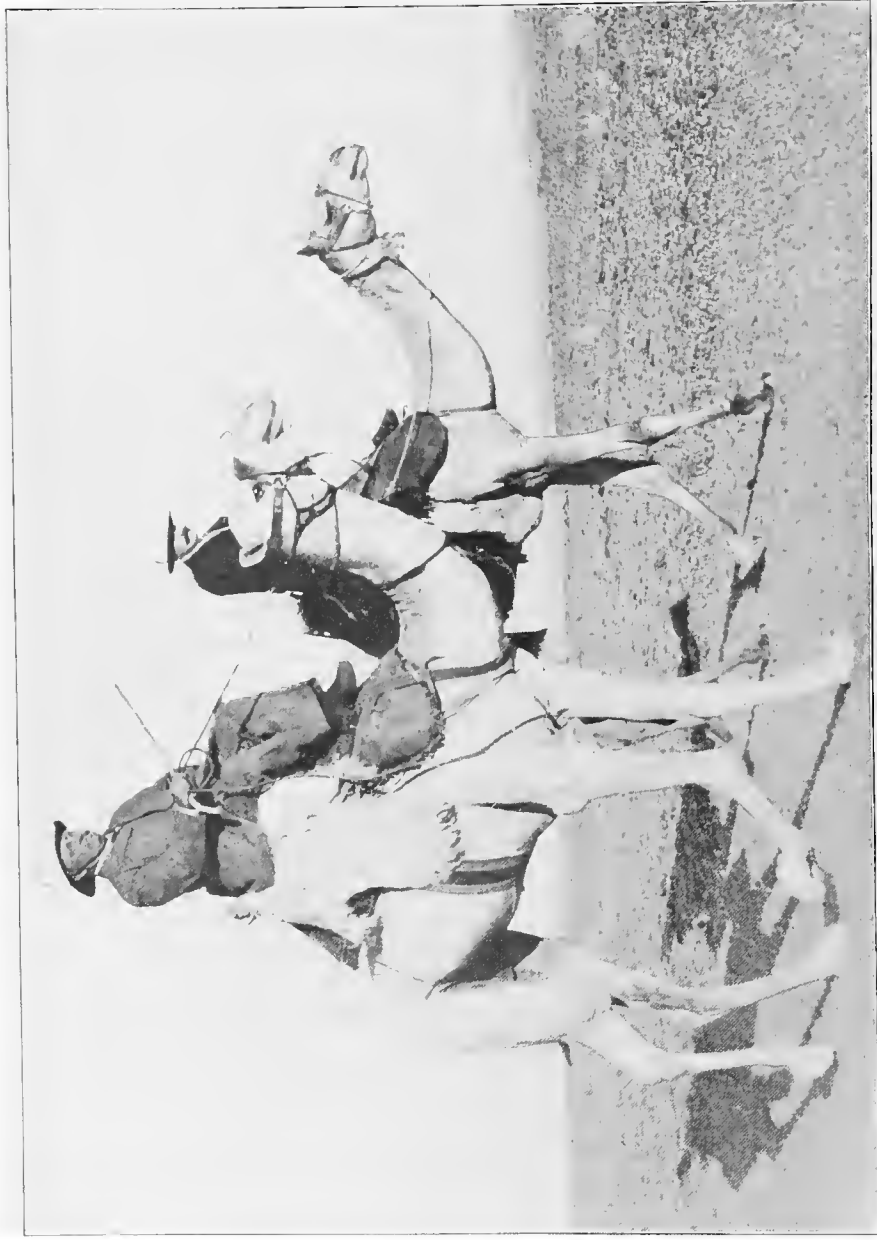
INAUGURATION CEREMONIES AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

SCENE IN FRONT OF THE CAPITAL BUILDING WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS TAKING OATH OF OFFICE.



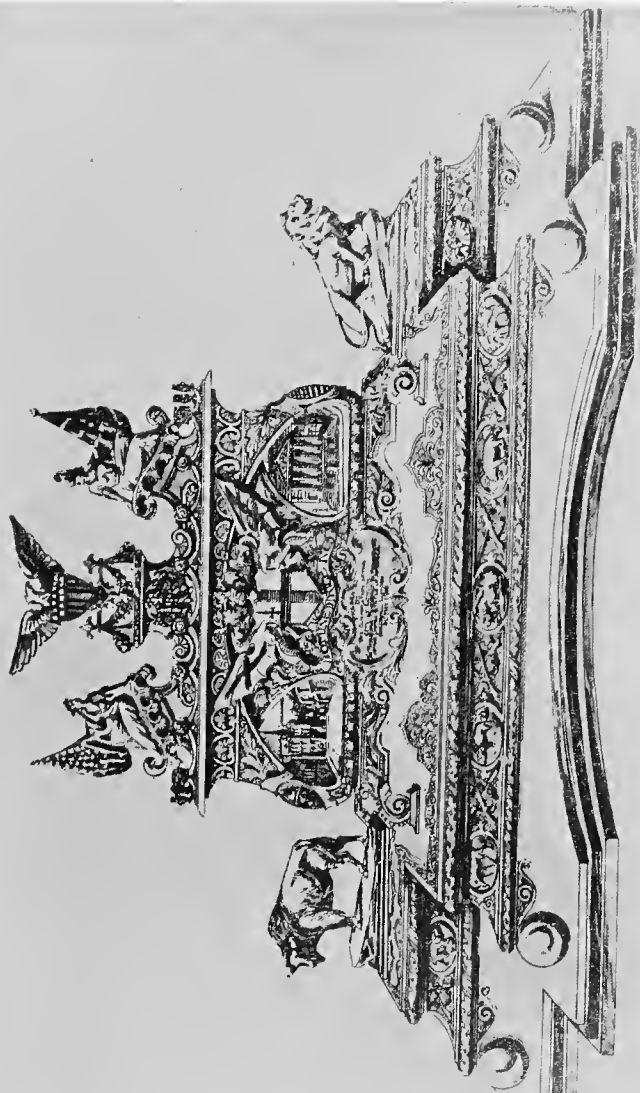
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COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT LEADING A CHARGE OF THE
ROUGH RIDERS



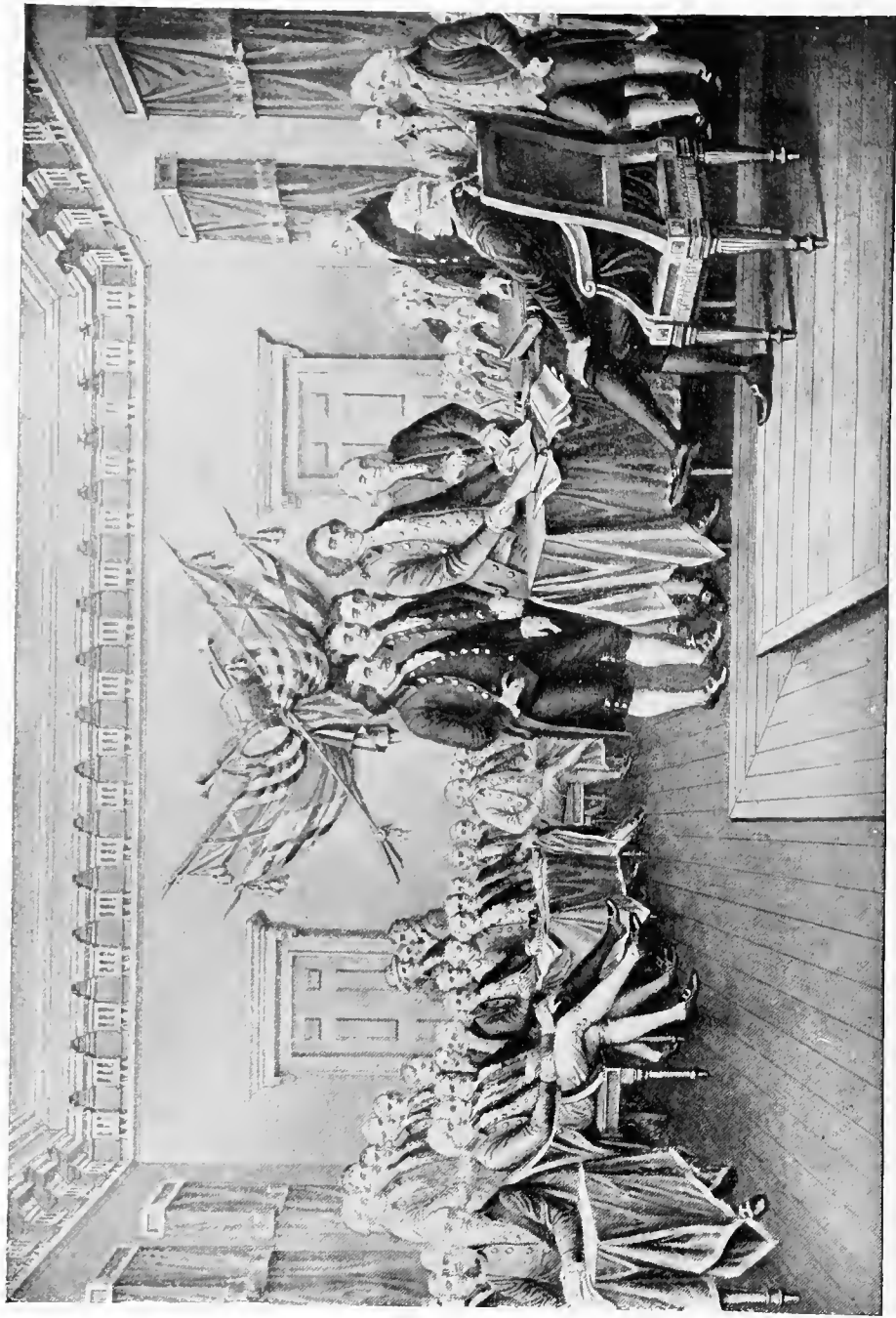
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COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND GENERAL SLATIN RIDING ON CAMELS IN EGYPT



**GOLD CASKET, BEARING FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON,
PRESENTED TO COLONEL ROOSEVELT.**

This beautiful casket in its design, ornamentation and general characteristics symbolizes the sentiment of cordial welcome extended by the City of London to its distinguished visitor. On the ornamental shield the following inscription is engraved: Presented by the Corporation of the City of London to Theodore Roosevelt ex-President of the United States of America, Guildhall, London, 31st May, 1910.



THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4TH, 1776



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DISCUSSING THE COAL STRIKE WITH THE OPERATORS AND MINERS' REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON



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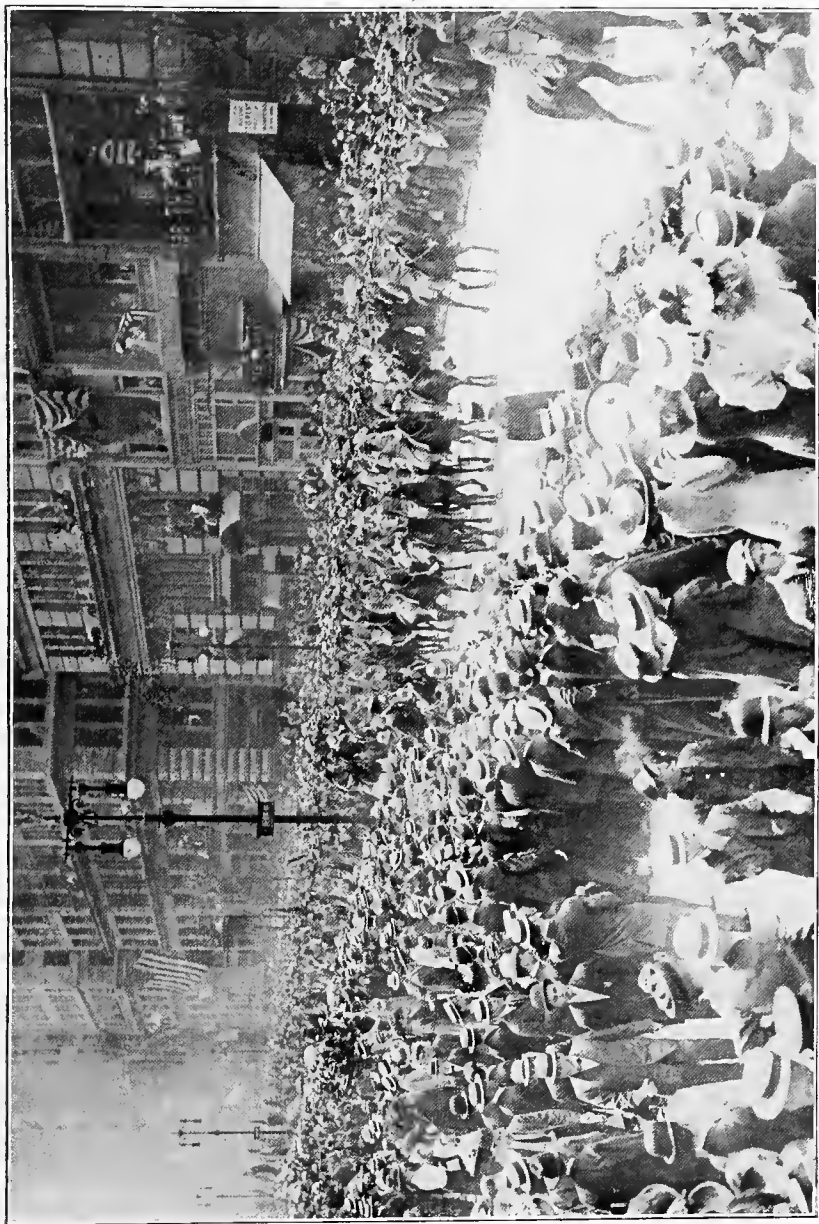
MRS. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.
DAUGHTER OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT ON BOAT, RESPONDING TO CHEERS.

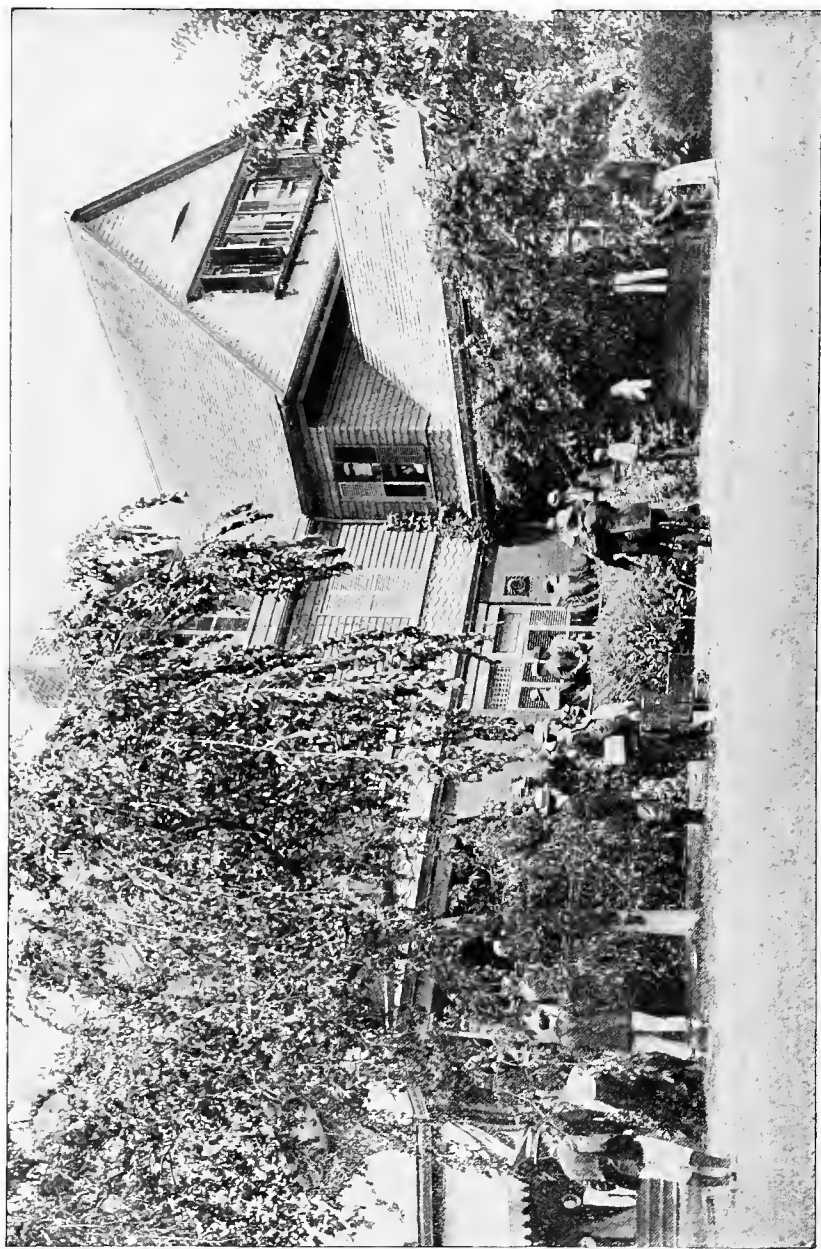
The sound of booming cannon, shrieking whistles and cheering multitudes was almost deafening while our returning Hero was landing.



Photo, Paul Thompson

ROUGH RIDERS IN THE ROOSEVELT RECEPTION PARADE.

Scene on Fifth Avenue, New York. The Rough Riders preceded Colonel Roosevelt's carriage.



RESIDENCE OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY, L. I.

with a good deal of the attitude that Miss Addams assumed, and leaned forward and listened to the speeches with intent and rapt faces. Probably not one of them ever saw as much money in her life as one woman in "purple row" spends in a day. It was a different type, on the whole, a type that it was pleasanter to look at.

The men and women before him listened with rapt faces. Some of them had their jaws set and seemed to be biting their lips. Here and there men were seen wiping tears away from their eyes. There was little cheering; then men and women there were too earnest for it. They sat there, bent forward in their places, many of them with their hands to their ears, anxious to catch every word. When they did cheer, it was always for some sentiment in which Beveridge expressed the aspiration of the new party for a better day for humanity. To his talk about details, they remained callous.

WOMEN IN EVIDENCE.

The women were vastly in evidence. Most of them were old or middle-aged; the gay, half-serious and brightly dressed crowd that represents woman suffrage in New York was largely absent. Every woman there was one whose name compelled respect. Miss Addams sat in the first row and for an hour before the convention came to order she held a regular levee. There was not a moment when a procession was not passing in front of her, partly of women and partly of men. Everybody who came stopped to speak to her, and usually lingered for many minutes. Every one who so stopped spoke to her with an earnest face and manner. Miss Addams, herself, acted like a religious devotee. Once, when Beveridge committed the new party to woman suffrage, she smiled and her eyes flashed. But mostly she sat with an intent and almost reverent look on her face.

Half an hour before the convention started, the Indiana delegation suddenly jumped up on its chairs and began singing "America." It has been sung in a half-hearted way in old party conventions before now, but it made old, case-hardened Republicans sit up and take notice to see how the Bull Moose sang it.

One could see men—young men and old men—standing up on their chairs and singing, "Our Father's God, to Thee, Author of Liberty," with

tears in their eyes and the look on their faces such as you might imagine on the faces of the men who backed Martin Luther up after he nailed his theses on the church door at Wittenberg, or the men who applauded Wendell Phillips when he indorsed Garrison's charge that the American Constitution was "A league with death and a covenant with hell."

The red bandanna, which is the Roosevelt emblem, was in evidence everywhere. Somebody in Illinois tied the bandanna around the American flag and got a cheer. Some knotted their bandannas around their necks and stood up to yell.

There was a hat surrounded by a ring which was raised at intervals above the heads of the crowd and never failed to get a cheer.

THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Throughout his speech former Senator Beveridge drew a line between the outward and visible government and "this invisible government," and he recurred to it again and again. He did not get many cheers out of the intent and sober crowd before him, but the applause he did get was worth a great deal more than the hollow-pated yelling that usually accompanies every good phrase in a national convention. He spoke well; he got every ounce of meaning out of every word that he uttered. "The people's government," said he, "has been usurped by the 'invisible government' and the people's government must be given back to the people again."

The cheer that this sentence got was nothing like the usual convention cheer. It sounded like a Georgia campmeeting expressing the sentiment that it was against the devil and in favor of heaven.

The biggest applause that Beveridge got was when he declared for woman suffrage. In most cases where men applaud the mention of woman suffrage they do it in a half-joshing way and with a grin.

This time old men and young men alike got up on their chairs, yelled like wild Indians and waved anything available and portable.

There was no half-amused tolerance in their attitude; it was a conviction. They were for woman suffrage just as enthusiastically and earnestly as they were for Beveridge's favorite reform of abolishing child labor.

Next to that, the greatest applause was for his proposition to break

down the "Solid South." Beveridge said that reactionaries and progressives alike voted the same ticket in the South, and that it was time to put an end to this and let them line up on different sides. The Progressive party, he said, was ready to deliver the South from its party bondage. The Blue and Gray alike cheered at this; Pennsylvania waved its hats at Virginia, and north Carolina jumped on its chairs and clasped its hands toward Illinois.

Beveridge closed his speech with a quotation from Mrs. Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and one of the secretaries asked the band to play it. The bandmaster, who was somewhat rattled, struck up "The Battle Cry of Freedom," and was promptly interrupted. Seeing that he did not know what air the convention wanted, the Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania delegations sprang up on their chairs and began singing:

"I have seen Him in the watchfires of a hundred circling camps,
I have read His righteous message by their dim and flaring lamps,
Our God is marching on."

THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

In a moment the convention was standing on its feet and joining in that wonderful hymn. The psychological moment had arrived.

So, amid a burst of enthusiasm the convention adjourned till the morrow.

Colonel Roosevelt was the central figure in the second days' session of the convention. Aside from the adoption of committee reports and the former President's "confession of faith" and a defining from the Coliseum platform of his position in the colored delegate controversy, nothing of general importance transpired.

The delegates cheered Colonel Roosevelt for more than an hour when he appeared suddenly and rather dramatically upon the platform. The rafters fairly rang with the noise of the demonstration. While awaiting the Colonel's arrival most of the delegates had joined in an impromptu song that they would follow him wherever he should choose to lead. This was the spirit of the reception accorded the former President when he reached the convention hall, and it was the spirit with which his advanced ideas of progressiveness were received as fast as they were uttered.

After the cheering had lasted half an hour the crowd in the hall began waving their red bandannas. Really, you can produce a whole lot of color in a hall that will accommodate several thousand persons by waving red bandannas and getting your neighbor to do likewise.

The convention turned red. The nearest thing to it which the writer has ever seen was the performance in St. Louis in 1904, when Bryan nominated Cockrell and everybody waved an American flag. This, though—1,000 people waving something red in a hall about the size of a city block—was a sight worth going miles to see.

As soon as the Colonel had finished his speech (which is printed in another chapter) the convention adjourned till the next and final day of the session.

On the third day of the session Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California, were, by acclamation, nominated for President and Vice-President, respectively.

The closing scenes of the first national convention of the National Progressive party were unlike the scenes that have marked the closing of any national convention within the memory of living politicians of any party.

AN OVATION STRIKING AND SINCERE.

Amid an ovation that was as striking and sincere as it was impressive, the two candidates were brought out on the platform to face the delegates and to deliver in their hearing and with crowded galleries looking on their pledges to fight manfully for the principles of and policies of this new party for which it is claimed that it will usher in a new dispensation in politics and in public life. Both nominees, but the Colonel especially, seemed deeply affected as they stood face to face with the men and women who are to shape the destinies of the new party, and who had selected them their standard-bearers to do "battle for the Lord."

There was a suspicious tremor in the Colonel's voice as he acknowledged the nomination. Nor was it strange that he and his running mate should display such evidence of feeling. Wave upon wave of emotion swept over the audience as men and women joined in singing the stirring patriotic and partly religious airs which the band played.

It was after the platform embodying the vast scheme for "social and industrial justice" had been adopted and after a dozen men had made nominating and seconding speeches of varying length for Governor Johnson that Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, permanent chairman of the convention, declared that Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson had been duly nominated for President and Vice-President, respectively.

It was nearly 7 o'clock, and the delegates and the spectators had been through a long and wearing day of speeches and routine business, but there was no sign of apathy in the tremendous cheer that broke when it was proclaimed from the platform that the most important business of the convention had been completed and that the hat of the new party was in the ring.

The two nominees at that time were behind the convention scenes waiting for their cue.. The two committees of notification, made up each of one or more members from every State delegation, had assembled on the rostrum and formed in a semi-circle very much like the chorus in an opera the moment before the hero makes his entry.

THE COLONEL AND GOVERNOR JOHNSON.

Into this semi-circle the Colonel and Governor Johnson were conducted. Slowly they were led to the little inclosure in front of a sounding board under a brightly gleaming electric lamp. The Colonel was on the right, his running mate on the left. Between stood Chairman Beveridge.

In the hall delegates stood on their feet and cheered. The hired band had gone to supper. But there was a volunteer band on the platform. It began to play, but the music was drowned in the thunder of acclaim that rolled up from the hall and down some of the galleries, where men and women waved flags and bandannas.

The cheering had been in progress for something like five minutes, with Governor Johnson bowing, but with a face that was strangely solemn and with the Colonel's expression more sober than that of a man who merely experiences the pleasure of being the object of acclaim. While the demonstration was in progress several Coliseum stage hands could be seen climbing to a little platform high under the arched ceiling of the huge auditorium. For a few minutes they busied themselves with ropes and

pulleys. Under their combined efforts a huge white canvass was released and unrolled. It was the first campaign banner of the National Progressive party, and the convention crowd rose to cheer the latest party slogan that appeared on it. Here is the legend:

ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON,

NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA.

Hands across the Continent,
For there is neither East or West,
Border, nor breed, nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth. —*Kipling.*

When the demonstration had been in progress for about ten minutes it subsided somewhat. Then the band on the platform struck up the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The compelling strains of that melody have stirred this very strange convention into fervent singing a dozen times since the convention first met. It had not lost its charm. Men and women sprang to their feet and sang with shining eyes the first two stanzas of the hymn. Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson joined in the singing. The spell of solemnity seemed to hold the audience even after the music died away. Chairman Beveridge had no use for his gavel. He placed his hand on the Colonel's shoulder and drew him gently a little closer to the audience.

"There is no need of introducing Colonel Roosevelt," he said a little huskily amid the hush. "He is going to be our victorious captain for the common good and the next President of the United States."

There was some applause at this, but the audience seemed more anxious to hear what the Colonel had to say than to show the Colonel what they thought of him. The very first sentence the Colonel uttered showed that he was deeply moved as was the audience. His voice trembled and he seemed to forget all the little tricks which he ordinarily brings into play to help out his oratory. He stood looking straight ahead and his face wore a very sober expression.

Colonel Roosevelt in his speech of acceptance said: "Mr. Chairman and men and women who in this convention represent the high and honest

purpose of the people of all of our country, I come forward to thank you from my heart for the honor you have conferred upon me, and to say that, of course, I accept. I have been President, and I measure my words when I say—and I have seen and known much of life—I hold it by far the greatest honor and the greatest opportunity that has ever come to me to be called by you to the leadership for the time being of this great movement in the interests of the American people.

“And, friends, I wish now to say how deeply sensitive I am to the way in which the nomination has come to me, and to tell those who proposed and seconded my nomination that I appreciate to the full the significance of having such men and such a woman put me in nomination; and I wish to thank the convention for having given me the running mate it has given.

A PRECIOUS LETTER.

“I have a peculiar feeling toward Governor Johnson. Nearly two years ago, after the elections of 1910, when what I had striven to accomplish in New York had come to nothing, and when my friends, the enemy, exulted—possibly prematurely—over what had befallen me, Governor Johnson, in the flush of his own triumph, having just won out, wrote me a letter which I shall hand on to my children and children’s children because of what the letter contained, and because of the man who wrote it; a letter of trust and belief, a letter of ardent championship from the soldier who was at the moment victorious, toward his comrade who at the moment had been struck down.

“In Governor Johnson we have a man whose every word is made good by the deeds that he has done. The man who, as the head of a great State, has practically applied in that State for the benefit of the people of that State the principles which we intend to apply throughout the Union as a whole. We have nominated the only type of man who ever ought to be nominated for the Vice-Presidency; we have nominated a man fit at the moment to be President of the United States.

“Friends, I have come here merely to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honor you have conferred upon me, and to say that I appreciate it exactly as I know you meant it. For the greatest chance, the greatest gift that can be given to any man is the opportunity, if he has the

stuff in him, to do something that counts in the interests of the common good.

"I appreciate to the full the burden of responsibility, the burden of obligation that you have put upon me. I appreciate to the full that the trust you impose upon me can be met by me in one way, and that is by so carrying myself that you shall have no cause to regret or to feel shame for the action you have taken this afternoon.

"And, friends, with all my heart and soul, with every particle of high purpose that there is in me, I pledge you my word to do everything I can, to put every particle of courage, of common sense and of strength that I have at your disposal, and to endeavor so far as strength is given me to live up to the obligations you have put upon me, and to endeavor to carry out in the interests of our whole people the policies to which you have today solemnly dedicated yourselves to the millions of men and women for whom you speak. I thank you.

THE TEST OF TRUE PROSPERITY.

"We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to serve the public; that those who profit by the control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

"We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system, unguarded and uncontrolled by the nation, has placed in the hands of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free government and certain of abuse.

"This power has been abused, in monopoly of national resources, in stock watering, in unfair competition and unfair privileges, and finally in sinister influences on the public agencies of State and nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be exercised openly, under publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its evils.

"To that end we urge the establishment of a strong Federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the Government now does for the national banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission."

When the applause which greeted Colonel Roosevelt's speech of acceptance had ceased, Governor Johnson was introduced by Chairman Beveridge.

Governor Johnson in accepting his nomination, said: "It is with the utmost solemnity, the deepest obligation, that I come to tell you that I have enlisted for the war. I enlisted long ago, and I enlisted in that fight that is your fight now, the fight of all the nation, thank God, at last. Humanity's fight politically all over the land.

CONTEST FOR HUMANITY.

"Enlisting as I have in that contest for humanity that desired governmentally to make men better rather than to make men richer, there is no question, of course, but that of necessity I must accept any place where I may be drafted, and that I accept such a place as you have accorded me in the nation's history today (because again you are making history in this land); that I accept it with grateful heart and with the utmost singleness of purpose, to carry out as well as I may the little that may be my part to do.

"There is a new era, a new fight, a new struggle that is abroad now. There is a new political creed. It is a political creed that this great man, Colonel Roosevelt, preached even when he was in the White House; the great creed of equal opportunity, of a fair deal for all human kind, of giving to every child in the race of life an equal start; it is the creed in the last analysis of humanity that is now the creed of one of the great national parties in the United States of America.

"If in one little particle, if in one small degree, I may lighten the burden of this great man, this brave fighter who is today doing the greatest and the bravest thing in his career, then I shall feel well repaid in this campaign.

"My one desire shall be from now until November, with what virility, what force, what fighting strength I have, to follow him under his leader-

ship, to go forward to better and purer things in this country of ours, and to win the battle you have just commenced in this nation. I would rather go down to defeat with Theodore Roosevelt than go to victory with any other Presidential candidate."

The great figure of the session was Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, and next to the enthusiasm created by her came the demonstration for the Union and Confederate veterans.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC MULTITUDE.

It was the first time that a woman has ever made a nominating or seconding speech in a national convention, and the significance of that fact was appreciated to the full by every one of the thousand delegates and the 8,000 spectators. As she descended from the platform, waving a great banner inscribed with "votes for women," the whole multitude burst out spontaneously and frantically into "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord." Hardened old politicians seemed to turn all of a sudden into religious devotees.

When the convention met on that memorable morning the temporary organization was made permanent and Beveridge continued in the chair. Medill McCormick read the report of the Committee on Rules, and was greeted with the Bull Moose call—"Moo-oo-oo-ooo." A proposition was adopted, allowing the party to use different names in different States, and this was because of legal complication which would keep it off the ballot in Illinois and some other places if it adopted the name of "Progressive party." It was the understanding, however, that that was to be its name.

Chairman Beveridge introduced William H. Hotchkiss, of New York, to tell of the party's progress in that State, and the New Yorkers got up and gave the Bull Moose call. Hotchkiss caught the crowd by addressing them "Mr. Chairman and men and women of the new order." He said that for every deserter in New York the new party had received a hundred volunteers, and that in seven days they had organized 40 counties, and to-day, said he, every county in the State is organized in the hands of militant men.

Mr. Prendergast, in nominating Colonel Roosevelt, said: "This great gathering owes its being to a mighty protest by the American people against those who have poisoned the wells of democracy. It represents the martial

spirit of mankind, that, from an immemorial time, has charged back upon those who would place obstacles in the way of the march of human progress. While appreciating the stupendous nature of the task before it, the National Progressive party declines to accept the cynical doctrine ascribed to Napoleon, that God is on the side of the heaviest battalions, and professes its sublime faith in the teaching of Abraham Lincoln, that right makes right.

"It is, inspired with this faith, that we have undertaken and accomplished, the formation of a new party, in order that those who would free the nation from moribund principles of government might within this organization exercise those 'traditions of personal independence' which originally gave the American people their place of honor in the family of nations.

GENUINENESS OF DEMOCRACY.

"The platform which you have adopted is a guarantee of the genuineness of your democracy. It fortifies every theory of government which has ever given strength to the American Commonwealth. It says to the American citizens:

"We recognize the social and industrial issues of the time. We present remedies for them. In a correct appreciation of these issues you will understand the difficulties that beset you. You cannot expect the relief you require from either of the old parties because, like Ephraim 'chained to his idols,' they do not dare face these problems in that spirit that has won every triumphant concession to human rights that has marked the history of civilization. In the virtue of our cause we have sterling faith. In the vitality of its principles we believe as we do in the inherent honor of American manhood. In the great strength which this movement has already demonstrated, and will continue to exhibit we have that confidence that can only come to those who are borne along by the impulse of a spiritual conviction.

"My candidate is more than a citizen; he is a national asset. In this momentous period of political doubt, when the nation has to decide whether it will or how it will grapple with the great economic problems of the time, there is no man in American life who presents such credentials for the task as he.

"He presents the most striking and eventful civic career in American

history. He is essentially American in that there is hardly a phase of national experience which has not felt the effect of his personality through attrition and association.

"While his early environment would have justified the easy and slothful life, the instinct of democracy led him into those paths where his country's characteristics could be studied with profit, and his knowledge of his fellow-man made him the brother of the race.

AN ORIGINAL PROGRESSIVE.

"He is the natural leader of the Progressive movement today, not only because he possesses the quality of leadership that is essential but because he is one of the original Progressives of this nation. Without denying to others the full measure of credit which is justly and honorably theirs for their services of the Progressive cause, there is no other man who, in public office or out of it, has, by his devotion to its interests, made so complete and generous a contribution to the cup of its achievements.

"My candidate is the 'man courageous' of American politics. Where the interests of the people have been menaced he has known no fear and asked no quarter. His challenge has always been to struggle in the open. There have been none so powerful as to awe him, and before him the greater captains of industry have lowered their lances."

As he finished with the name of Roosevelt a girl in blue in the press section sprang up on a table and waved two bare arms frantically in the air, and the Roosevelt demonstration was on. It began exactly at 2.33 o'clock and ended at 3.09 o'clock. Of course, these demonstrations are all pretty much alike, but this one had a lot of unusual features. There were no cheer leaders, none of the usual noise-making methods and more real genuine cheering and enthusiasm than one ordinarily sees.

After the noise had been going on for a few minutes, Minnesota started the procession of the standards around the hall. Woodruff sprang out of his chair, grabbed the New York standard and followed Minnesota with the delegates behind him. In place of the usual standard Illinois had put Senator Funk's hat on a pole, a symbolic reference to the fact that yesterday he hurled it on the floor of the convention, announcing that it was in the ring and now the Illinois delegation escorted this pole and this hat around the hall.

Six minutes after the demonstration began and while everybody was cheering in a frenzied sort of way, 20 or 30 persons began singing "He Has Sounded Forth the Trumpet That Shall Never Call Retreat," and all those thousands of enthusiasts caught the words and burst into Julia Ward Howe's great hymn. Funk sprang to his feet with a shining face and started the Illinois delegation on its march around the hall. Miss Addams, Mrs. Wilmarth, Miss Mary Dreier, of New York, who march with Woodruff and some 15 or 20 other women, joined the procession. All over the hall other women were standing on chairs and waving bandannas, while all around them men were giving the Bull Moose call.

GIVES HIM A SALUTE.

Returning to his place, Funk sprang upon a chair and the delegations from other States formed a line and passed him, each giving him a salute as they did so. An old Grand Army man, with a long white beard, rushed up on the platform and waved an enormous flag, and then from the back of the hall a new song broke in on the uproar which was instantly recognized and taken up all over the place. It was:

"Onward, Christian Soldiers, marching as to war,
With the Cross of Jesus going on before."

At the end of the last verse the convention wildly cheered the hymn, and then began singing the "Star-Spangled Banner." A beautiful little 10-year-old girl from Montana, dressed in pink, rode around the hall on the shoulders of a delegate from her State, waving a bandanna in each hand. In the upper right-hand gallery a man in his shirt sleeves waved an enormous flag to the rhythm of the national anthem. The Grand Army men went up on the platform with their fifes and drums and then started down the aisles, accompanied by a lot of Confederate veterans.

A woman from Oregon suddenly came to the front and started a new procession of standards around the hall, while the crowd that followed her sang the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Then the Grand Army men returned to the platform and began playing "Dixie," and as the first notes sounded out the Georgia and Connecticut delegations, which were seated side by side, jumped upon their chairs and cheered each other. Their example was immediately followed by Pennsylvania, Tennessees, Maine and Missouri, which were seated right behind them.

The Maryland delegation began to cheer Mrs. Roosevelt, and in a moment everybody in the place had followed their example. A thousand persons stood up and waved bandannas at the gallery where she was sitting. At first she just smiled and bowed, but the delegates insisted on her getting up, and at last she did, while everybody gave her the Chautauqua salute with bandannas.

SECONDS ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION.

When the demonstration was over Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Colorado, seconded Roosevelt's nomination. Lindsey was immensely popular with the convention. He is a little man, with a voice that is big but has no carrying power, and he seemed intensely in earnest. The Judge said:

"Colorado, like all her sister States of the Inter-Rocky Mountain region, loves Theodore Roosevelt—not so much because of the things he has, as because of his matchless achievements not only for the nation, but the world.

"No man in history, not even Lincoln, has been more hated by the enemies of the people—more feared by the exploiters of the people. They fear him, not because they believe he is unjust, but because they know he is just.

"And just in proportion as the bosses of privilege hate him so do the great common people love him. They want him to finish the job he started—and he is going to do it—the job that has fallen into blundering hands.

"Our chief opponents are the two old parties, almost equally reactionary. Only the Democratic party can challenge the charge. It will point to its alleged progressive promises and progressive candidates. But it should count little against us if it is judged by performances.

"The people will not forget its last successful candidate of 1892, just as progressive on the one string on which it harped then as now. They will not forget its reactionary organization that betrayed its chief tariff pledge to the people, and provoked the charge of party perfidy and party dishonor from its own progressive President.

"The same type of bosses that controlled them control now. Why should we expect any different result? Is the candidate of that party any

stronger in his demands for changes, or his ability to get them than was Grover Cleveland, the most powerful personality of his time?

"The convention at Baltimore was scarcely less reactionary than the convention at Chicago. The people of this nation will not be content with the Baltimore by-product of Theodore Roosevelt's fight against the bosses at Chicago in June, when they can get the real thing from Chicago in August.

A NEW PARTY DEMANDED.

"The conditions, the times, the great changes going on in this country demand a new party. Knowing, as I do, that the Democratic party is no freer from the yoke of privilege than the Republican party; that the Democratic party offers no possible prospect or promise of permanent relief from the injustices we fight than the Republican party, I count it my duty as an American citizen to enlist under the banner, and join the fortunes of the new party of progress, and to follow the leadership of the greatest champion of popular rights since Abraham Lincoln laid down that burden with his life when I go into the campaign to support the man who is more willing to give the same full measure of devotion to his country, the next President of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt."

Beveridge then introduced Miss Addams as "America's most eminent and most loved woman." The convention cheered her tempestuously. She came up on the platform and delivered a clear, pungent and straight-from-the-shoulder speech, in which she candidly told the convention that she was for Roosevelt, not because he was Roosevelt, but because he was willing to stand for the things she believed in.

Miss Addams fired her sentences at the crowd like bullets, and everyone of them provoked a furious demonstration. Once a misguided man in the back of the hall called "Louder," and was hissed and howled at and hurriedly concealed himself behind a chair.

Miss Addams said: "I rise to second the nomination stirred by the splendid platform adopted by this convention.

"Measures of industrial amelioration, demand for social justice, long discussed by small groups in charity conferences and economic associations have here been considered in a great national convention, and are at last thrust into the stern arena of political action.

"A great party has pledged itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, to the safeguarding of burdened men. Committed to these humane undertakings, it is inevitable that such a party should appeal to women, should seek to draw upon the great reservoir of their moral energy, so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics—one is the corollary of the other; a program of human welfare, the necessity for women's participation.

CALLS TO DEFINITE ACTION.

"We ratify this platform not only because it represents our earnest convictions and formulates our high hopes, but because it pulls upon our faculties and calls us to definite action. We find it a prophecy that democracy shall be actually realized until no group of our people—certainly not 10,000,000 of them so badly in need of reassurance—shall fail to bear the responsibilities of self-government, and that no class of evils shall lie beyond redress.

"The new party has become the American exponent of a world-wide movement towards juster social conditions, a movement which the United States, lagging behind other great nations, has been unaccountably slow to embody in political action.

"I second the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, because he is one of the few men in our public life who has been responsive to the social appeal, and who has caught the significance of the modern movement. Because of that, because the program will require a leader of invincible courage of open mind, of democratic sympathies, one endowed with power to interpret the common man and to identify himself with the common lot, I heartily second the nomination."

When Miss Addams finished she seized a great banner bearing the words "Votes for women," while the whole convention, headed by Woodruff, Funk and Oscar Straus, jumped upon chairs and tables and cheered her amid a sea of waving flags and bandannas. She carried this flag off the platform with her, and as she passed along men and women leaned down from the gallery to grasp her hand. She intended to return to her place in the Illinois delegation, but as she reached it the Illinoisians, with Funk in the lead, rushed from their chairs and led her and her flag around

the hall, followed by all the other delegations and by women spectators waving bandannas.

After this, Alexander T. Hamilton seconded the nomination for Georgia, and then General King, of New York, made the first of the old soldiers' speeches. He compared the present movement to that in which he participated 50 years ago, when he and other young men went down South to save the country.

BOSS RULE TO PERISH.

"We represent a movement," he declared, "which means the government of the people by the bosses shall perish from the earth." This old Union soldier was followed by a Confederate veteran, Lloyd, of Florida, who has four Yankee bullets in his body, presented to him by General King's fellow-soldiers in the sixties. He was followed by General John McDowell, a grizzly-bearded ex-Confederate, who is at the head of the United Confederate Veterans of Tennessee. The General aroused the crowd to an unprecedented pitch of enthusiasm. He had in his hand an old slouch hat, which looked as if he might have worn it at the Battle of Chickamauga, and he gesticulated with it, waving it at his shouting hearers.

"I hope before I cross over the river," the old man cried, brandishing his slouch hat at the crowd before him, "that I may see this nation united. From now until the polls close in November you will find me following our noble leader with my hat in the ring." As he said this he dashed the other hat on the floor. If he had meant to say anything more it would have been impossible, the uproar being simply deafening. The Grand Army Fife and Drum Corps came upon the platform and began playing "Dixie," while Funk, at the head of the Illinois delegation, led the singing. Tennessee and Maine, arm in arm, started marching down the aisles, followed by Iowa and Kentucky.

Altogether, it was the most dramatic convention within the memory of living men.

Theodore Roosevelt had been nominated for a third term as President of the United States. There is no attempt at quibble or evasion on that point. He himself has always maintained that the three years and six months he served when he succeeded to the Presidency on the death of McKinley must be considered as a full term in any discussion as to the

wisdom or propriety of permitting any man to serve more than two terms as chief magistrate of the nation.

When Colonel Roosevelt first gave to the cause of social and industrial justice the invaluable crystallizing force of his candidacy and leadership, the tories centered their attack on the third term. It was not that the agents and organs of special privilege would have objected to a third term for a President who would serve their interests.

PREDATORY WEALTH.

If Elihu Root, for instance, had been President of the United States, it is inconceivable that the malign influences of predatory wealth which he has served so well would have permitted their newspapers to attack him even though he were a candidate for a fifth term. We have not used President Taft in this illustration, because it is now well known that even predatory wealth would not have had him as a candidate for second term if it could have forced its nomination on anybody else.

The outcry against the third term for Roosevelt was an outcry against Roosevelt. It would have been equally strong from the same quarters if Roosevelt were a candidate for the second or for the first term.

But none knew better than the frightened tories themselves what was the charm of his name and the power of the policies with which he had identified his public life. His was a battle for the "common right of humanity against the divine right of kings;" in this instance oil kings, beef kings, railroad kings, kings of crooked business and kings of crooked politics, but above all the money kings who are the ruling power behind these lesser monarchs.

There was no discussion of a third term for these. Theirs, if the tories have their way, is to be one lone, continuous, never-ending term, or, strictly speaking, a reign. The kings can do no wrong; the kings can never die, are maxims of the tory common law.

And so, rather than meet squarely the issues of social and industrial justice, the tories set up the cry of third term. To this day some of the advocates of predatory wealth profess to see in the expansion which has made the progressive movement national nothing but an attack on the third-term myth, which they pretend just now to hold so sacred.

To support this myth the facts of history were distorted and the needs of the nation ignored. But the net result was that the tradition was exploded. The tradition itself had been founded on Washington's refusal to take a third term when tired of the conflict of official life in the new republic, and longing for the quiet of his farm.

But it was Washington himself who, in the constitutional convention, was the most potent influence against any provision limiting in any way the number of terms, consecutive or otherwise, to be permitted to any one President. It was he who wrote these words, which have almost a prophetic application to the situation today:

"I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson or you as to the necessity or expediency of rotation in that office. I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the service of any man who at some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public."

The voters of the Republican party, wherever they had an opportunity of free expression during the primary campaign, indorsed, by majorities of two or three to one, the rule laid down by Washington in that letter, and adopted by the fathers of the Constitution when they left to the people the free choice of naming a President for as many terms as he best served their interests. If the Roosevelt candidacy will have done nothing else, it has already accomplished a great public service in laying forever the ghost of the false and mischievous third-term tradition.

None know better than his most ardent followers how human and fallible Colonel Roosevelt is. But they love him all the more for his humanity and his fallibility. They know that he is fired with a zeal for the rights of man; that not in books, but by close, hard contact with life, he has learned the story of those who struggle for existence; that he is alive with love of righteousness and justice; that his sympathies are as broad as mankind; that he has thrown himself into this campaign with no other purpose than to do what he can to help the common right of humanity in its eternal struggle against that other principle described by Lincoln as saying, "You toil, earn bread, and I'll eat it."

CHAPTER VIII

ROOSEVELT'S "CONFESSION OF FAITH."

CONTROL OF THE TRUSTS—HOW TO USE THE RECALL—AMPLIFICATION OF PAST SPEECHES—TAKES BROADER GROUND—THE WAGE QUESTION—AID THE FARMER—THE BALTIMORE PLATFORM ANALYZED—FOR REAL PROTECTIVE TARIFF—BENEFIT RICH AND POOR ALIKE—OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Colonel Roosevelt's speech before the convention of the Progressive party on August 6 was as follows:

"The prime need today is to face the fact that we are now in the midst of a great economic evolution. It is, from the standpoint of our country, wicked as well as foolish longer to refuse to face the real issues of the day. Only by so facing them can we go forward; and to do this we must break up the old party organizations and obliterate the old cleavage lines on the dead issues inherited from fifty years ago.

"Our fight is a fundamental fight against both of the old corrupt party machines, for both are under the dominion of the plunder league of the professional politicians who are controlled and sustained by the great beneficiaries of privilege and reaction. How close is the alliance between the two machines is shown by the attitude of that portion of those northeastern newspapers, including the majority of the great dailies in all the northeastern cities—Boston, Buffalo, Springfield, Hartford, Philadelphia and, above all, New York—which are controlled by or representative of the interests which, in popular phrase, are conveniently grouped together as the Wall street interests.

"Neither the Republican nor the Democratic platform contains the slightest promise of approaching the great problems of today either with understanding or good faith; and yet never was there greater need in this nation than now of understanding, and of action in good faith, on the part of the men and the organization shaping our governmental policy.

"If this country is really to go forward along the path of social and economic justice, there must be a new party of nation-wide and non-sectional principles.

"At present both the old parties are controlled by professional politicians in the interests of the privileged classes, and apparently each has set

up as its ideal of business and political development a government by financial despotism tempered by make-believe political assassination.

"It seems to me, therefore, that the time is ripe, and overripe, for a genuine Progressive movement, nation-wide and justice-loving, sprung from and responsible to the people themselves, and sundered by a great gulf from both of the old party organizations, while representing all that is best in the hopes, beliefs and aspirations of the plain people who make up the immense majority of the rank and file of both the old parties.

"We should provide by national law for Presidential primaries. We should provide for the election of United States Senators by popular vote. There must be stringent and efficient corrupt practices acts, applying to the primaries as well as the elections; and there should be publicity of campaign contributions during the campaign. We should provide throughout the Union for giving the people in every State the real right to rule themselves.

"I do not mean that we shall abandon representative government; on the contrary, I mean that we shall devise methods by which our government shall become really representative. To use such measures as the initiative, referendum and recall indiscriminately and promiscuously on all kinds of occasions would undoubtedly cause disaster.

"We have permitted the growing up of a breed of politicians who, sometimes for improper political purposes, sometimes as a means of serving the great special interests of privilege which stand behind them, twist so-called representative institutions into a means of thwarting instead of expressing the deliberate and well-thought-out judgment of the people as a whole. This cannot be permitted.

"All I desire to do by securing more direct control of the governmental agents and agencies of the people is to give the people the chance to make their representatives really represent them whenever the government becomes misrepresentative instead of representative.

"The American people, and not the courts, are to determine their own fundamental policies. The people should have power to deal with the effect of the acts of all their governmental agencies. This must be extended to include the effects of judicial acts as well as the acts of the executive and legislative representatives of the people.

"Where the judge merely does justice as between man and man, not dealing with constitutional questions, then the interest of the public is only to see that he is a wise and upright judge. Means should be devised for making it easier than at present to get rid of an incompetent judge.

"The stick-in-the-bark legalism, the legalism that subordinates equity to technicalities, should be recognized as a potent enemy of justice. But this is not the matter of most concern at the moment. Our prime concern

is that in dealing with the fundamental law of the land, in assuming finally to interpret it, and therefore finally to make it, the acts of the courts should be subject to and not above the final control of the people as a whole. I deny that the American people have surrendered to any set of men, no matter what their position or their character, the final right to determine those fundamental questions upon which free self-government ultimately depends.

"The people themselves must be the ultimate makers of their own Constitution, and where their agents differ in their interpretations of the Constitution the people themselves should be given the chance, after full and deliberate judgment, authoritatively to settle what interpretation it is that their representatives shall thereafter adopt as binding.

"We stand for a living wage. Wages are subnormal if they fail to provide a living for those who devote their time and energy to industrial occupations. The monetary equivalent of a living wage varies according to local conditions, but must include enough to secure the elements of a normal standard of living—a standard high enough to make morality possible, to provide for education and recreation, to care for immature members of the family, to maintain the family during periods of sickness, and to permit of reasonable saving for old age.

EXCESSIVE WORKING HOURS.

"Hours are excessive if they fail to afford the worker sufficient time to recuperate and return to his work thoroughly refreshed. We hold that the night labor of women and children is abnormal and should be prohibited; we hold that the employment of women over 48 hours a week is abnormal and should be prohibited. We hold that the seven-day working week is abnormal, and we hold that one day of rest in seven should be provided by law.

"We hold that the continuous industries, operating 24 hours out of 24, are abnormal, and where, because of public necessity or of technical reasons (such as molten metal), the 24 hours must be divided into two shifts of 12 hours or three shifts of eight, they should by law be divided into three of eight.

"The premature employment of children is abnormal and should be prohibited; so also the employment of women in manufacturing, commerce or other trades where work compels standing constantly; and also any employment of women in such trades for a period of at least eight weeks at time of child birth.

"It is abnormal for any industry to throw back upon the community the human wreckage due to its wear and tear, and the hazards of sickness, accident, invalidism, involuntary unemployment, and old age should be

provided for through insurance. This should be made a charge in whole or in part upon the industries, the employer, the employe, and perhaps the people at large, to contribute severally in some degree.

"Workingwomen have the same need to combine for protection that workingmen have; the ballot is as necessary for one class as for the other; we do not believe that with the two sexes there is identity of function; but we do believe that there should be equality of right; and therefore we favor woman suffrage.

"If women could vote, they would strengthen the hands of those who are endeavoring to deal in efficient fashion with evils such as the white-slave traffic; evils which can in part be dealt with nationally, but which in large part can be reached only by determined local action, such as insisting on the widespread publication of the names of the owners, the landlords, of houses used for immoral purposes.

MORE PRODUCTIVE FARMS.

"The Government must co-operate with the farmer to make the farm more productive. There must be no skinning of the soil. The farm should be left to the farmer's son in better, and not worse, condition because of its cultivation. Moreover, every invention and improvement, every discovery and economy, should be at the service of the farmer in the work of production; and, in addition, he should be helped to co-operate in business fashion with his fellows, so that the money paid by the consumer for the product of the soil shall to as large a degree as possible go into the pockets of the man who raised that product from the soil.

"The present conditions of business cannot be accepted as satisfactory. Our aim is to control business, not to strangle it—and, above all, not to continue a policy of make-believe strangle toward big concerns that do evil, and constant menace toward both big and little concerns that do well. Our aim is to promote prosperity, and then see to its proper division. The anti-trust law must be kept on our statute books, and must be rendered more effective in the cases where it is applied.

"But to treat the anti-trust law as an adequate, or as by itself a wise, measure of relief and betterment is a sign not of progress, but of toryism and reaction. It has been of benefit so far as it has implied the recognition of a real and great evil, and the at least sporadic application of the principle that all men alike must obey the law. But as a sole remedy, universally applicable, it has in actual practice completely broken down; as now applied it works more mischief than benefit.

"The anti-trust law, if interpreted as the Baltimore platform demands it shall be interpreted, would apply to every agency by which not merely

industrial but agricultural business is carried on in this country; under such an interpretation it ought in theory to be applied universally, in which case practically all industries would stop; as a matter of fact, it is utterly out of the question to enforce it universally; and, when enforced sporadically, it causes continual unrest, puts the country at a disadvantage with its trade competitors in international commerce, hopelessly puzzles honest business men and honest farmers as to what their rights are, and yet, as has just been shown in the cases of the Standard Oil and the Tobacco Trust, it is no real check on the great trusts at which it was in theory aimed, and indeed operates to their benefit.

"The proposals of the platform are so conflicting and so absurd that it is hard to imagine how any attempt could be made in good faith to carry them out; but, if such attempt were sincerely made, it could only produce industrial chaos.

"The only effective way in which to regulate the trusts is through the exercise of the collective power of our people as a whole through the governmental agencies established by the Constitution for this very purpose. Grave injustice is done by the Congress when it fails to give the national Government complete power in this matter; and still graver injustice by the Federal courts when they endeavor in any way to pare down the right of the people collectively to act in this matter as they deem wise.

THE ANTI-TRUST LAW.

"The anti-trust law should be kept on the statute books and strengthened so as to make it genuinely and thoroughly effective against every big concern tending to monopoly or guilty of anti-social practices. At the same time, a national industrial commission should be created which should have complete power to regulate and control all the great industrial concerns engaged in interstate business—which practically means all of them in this country.

"This commission should exercise over these industrial concerns like powers to those exercised over the railways by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and over the national banks by the Comptroller of the Currency, and additional powers if found necessary.

"This commission should deal with all the abuses of the trusts—all the abuses such as those developed by the Government suit against the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trusts—as the Interstate Commerce Commission now deals with rebates. It should have complete power to make the capitalization absolutely honest and put a stop to all stock watering. Such supervision over the issuance of corporate securities would put a stop to

exploitation of the people by dishonest capitalists desiring to declare dividends on watered securities.

"The Progressive proposal is definite. We favor co-operation in business, and ask only that it be carried on in a spirit of honesty and fairness. We are against crooked business, big or little; we are in favor of honest business, big or little. We propose to penalize conduct and not size.

"But all very big business, even though honestly conducted, is fraught with such potentiality of menace that there should be thorough-going governmental control over it, so that its efficiency in promoting prosperity at home and increasing the power of the nation in international commerce may be maintained, and at the same time fair play insured to the wage-workers, the small business competitors, the investors, and the general public.

"Wherever it is practicable we propose to preserve competition; but where under modern conditions competition has been eliminated and cannot be successfully restored, then the Government must step in and itself supply the needed control on behalf of the people as a whole.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF AS A PRINCIPLE.

"I believe in a protective tariff, but I believe in it as a principle, approached from the standpoint of the interests of the whole people, and not as a bundle of preferences to be given to favored individuals. In my opinion, the American people favor the principle of a protective tariff, but they desire such a tariff to be established primarily in the interests of the wage-worker and the consumer.

"The chief opposition to our tariff at the present moment comes from the general conviction that certain interests have been improperly favored by over-protection. I agree with this view.

"The first step should be the creation of a permanent commission of non-partisan experts whose business shall be to study scientifically all phases of tariff-making and of tariff effects. This commission should be large enough to cover all the different and widely varying branches of American industry.

"It should have ample powers to enable it to secure exact and reliable information. It should have authority to examine closely all correlated subjects, such as the effect of any given duty on the consumers of the article on which the duty is levied; that is, it should directly consider the question as to what any duty costs the people in the price of living.

"It should examine into the wages and conditions of labor and life of the workmen in any industry, so as to insure our refusing protection to any industry unless the showing as regards the share labor receives therefrom is satisfactory. This commission would be wholly different from the

present unsatisfactory Tariff Board, which was created under a provision of law which failed to give it the powers indispensable if it was to do the work it should do.

"The one and only chance to secure stable and favorable business conditions in this country, while at the same time guaranteeing fair play to farmer, consumer, business man and wage-worker, lies in the creation of such a commission as I herein advocate.

"The cost of living in this country has risen during the last few years out of all proportion to the increase in the rate of most salaries and wages; the same situation confronts alike the majority of wage-workers, small business men, small professional men, the clerks, the doctors, clergymen. Now, grave though the problem is, there is one way to make it graver, and that is to deal with it insincerely, to advance false remedies, to promise the impossible. Our opponents, Republicans and Democrats alike, propose to deal with it in this way:

THERE SHOULD BE AN INQUIRY.

"The Republicans in their platform promise an inquiry into the facts. Most certainly there should be such inquiry. But the way the present administration has failed to keep its promises in the past, and the rank dishonesty of action on the part of the Penrose-Barnes-Guggenheim National Convention, makes their every promise worthless.

"The Democratic platform affects to find the entire cause of the high cost of living in the tariff, and promises to remedy it by free trade, especially free trade in the necessities of life. In the first place, this attitude ignores the patent fact that the problem is world-wide, that everywhere, in England and France, as in Germany and Japan, it appears with greater or less severity; that in England, for instance, it has become a very severe problem, although neither the tariff nor, save to a small degree, the trusts can there have any possible effect upon the situation. In the second place, the Democratic platform, if it is sincere, must mean that all duties must be taken off the products of the farmer. Yet most certainly we cannot afford to have the farmer struck down.

"There must be legislation which will bring about a closer business relationship between the farmer and the consumer. Recently experts in the Agricultural Department have figured that nearly 50 per cent. of the price for agricultural products paid by the consumer goes into the pockets, not of the farmer, but of various middlemen; and it is probable that over half of what is thus paid to middlemen is needless, can be saved by wise business methods, and can therefore be returned to the farmer and the consumer. Through the proposed Interstate Industrial Commission we

can effectively do away with any arbitrary control by combinations of the necessities of life.

"There is urgent need of non-partisan expert examination into any tariff schedule which seems to increase the cost of living, and, unless the increase thus caused is more than countervailed by the benefit to the class of the community which actually receives the protection, it must, of course, mean that that particular duty must be reduced. The system of levying a tariff for the protection and encouragement of American industry so as to secure higher wages and better conditions of life for American laborers must never be perverted so as to operate for the impoverishment of those whom it was intended to benefit.

INTERSTATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

"There should be established at once an interstate industrial commission, which should exercise full supervision over the big industrial concerns doing an interstate business into which an element of monopoly enters. Where these concerns deal with the necessities of life the commission should not shrink, if the necessity is proved, of going to the extent of exercising regulatory control over the conditions that create or determine monopoly prices.

"By such action we shall certainly be able to remove the element of contributory causation on the part of the trusts and the tariff towards the high cost of living."

The concluding paragraphs of the address are devoted to the currency, conservation, Alaska and international affairs. On the question of toll and fortification of the Panama Canal Colonel Roosevelt said:

"The Panama Canal must be fortified. It would have been criminal to build it if we were not prepared to fortify it and to keep our navy at such a pitch of strength as to render it unsafe for any foreign power to attack us and get control of it. We have a perfect right to permit our coastwise traffic to pass through that canal on any terms we choose, and I personally think that no toll should be charged on such traffic.

"Moreover, in time of war, where all treaties between warring nations, save those connected with the management of the war, at once lapse, the canal would, of course, be open to the use of our warships and closed to warships of the nation with which we were engaged in hostilities.

"But at all times the canal should be opened on equal terms to the ships of all nations, including our own, engaged in international commerce. That was the understanding of the treaty when it was adopted, and the United States must always, as a matter of honorable obligation and with

scrupulous nicety, live up to every understanding which she has entered into with any foreign power."

In conclusion the Colonel said: "Surely there never was a fight better worth making than the one in which we are engaged. It little matters what befalls any one of us who for the time being stand in the forefront of the battle. I hope we shall win, and I believe that if we can wake the people to what the fight really means we shall win. But, win or lose, we shall not falter. Whatever fate may at the moment overtake any of us, the movement itself will not stop. Our case is based on the eternal principles of righteousness; and even though we who now lead may for the time fail, in the end the cause itself shall triumph."

CHAPTER IX

THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM.

OLD PARTIES BLAMED—RULE OF THE PEOPLE—WOMAN SUFFRAGE ADVOCATED—TO RESTRICT POWER OF COURTS—SINISTER INFLUENCES IN BUSINESS RAPPED—GOOD ROADS ADVOCATED—THE INCOME TAX—CIVIL SERVICE—AN ADVANCED AND POWERFUL DOCUMENT.

The Progressive party in convention adopted the following platform:

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's awakened sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain that government of the people, by the people and for the people, whose foundations they laid.

We hold with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that the people are the masters of their Constitution to fulfill its purpose, and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this Government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions and its laws should be utilized, maintained or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside.

Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare they have become the tools of corrupt interests, which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible governments sits enthroned an invisible government, owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new

time, have compelled the people to forego a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler Commonwealth. This declaration is our covenant with the people, and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in State and nation to the pledges made herein.

The National Progressive party, committed to the principle of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several States as shall insure the representative character of the Government.

In particular, the party declares for strict primaries for the nomination of State and national officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the Presidency, for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the States the policy of the short ballot with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum and recall.

The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution.

Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution if found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual States.

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several States should by unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the profit of their financial interests.

The extreme insistence on States' rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived, or to administer the affairs of a union of States which have in all essential respects become one people.

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy, which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike. We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding Federal appointees from holding office in State or national political organizations, or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective State or national officials.

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

THE PLEDGES OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

(1)—That when an act, passed under the police power of the State, is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the act to become law notwithstanding such decision.

(2)—That every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods. We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury. The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and nation for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry.

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of State and nation,

including the Federal control over interstate commerce, and the taxing power, to maintain such standards:

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations. The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons. One day's rest in seven for all wage workers. The eight-hour day in continuous 24-hour industries.

The abolition of the convict labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families. Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products. We pledge our party to establish a department of labor, with a seat in the Cabinet, and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living, and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country, and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter and food.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach.

The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local and partly to natural causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes. There will remain other elements, such as the tendency to leave the country, for the city; waste, extravagance, bad system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops, and bad business methods in marketing crops.

To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and based on this information effective Government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the Federal Government dealing with the public health into a single national health service without discrimination against or for any set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine or school of healing, with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable disease as may be properly undertaken by the Federal authorities, including the executing of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects, the promotion of appropriate action for the improvement of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics, and co-operation with the health activities of the various States and cities of the nation.

We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand, and so believing it is our purpose to obtain that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

CORPORATE TRANSACTIONS.

Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporate transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and special privilege, and by continuous trained watchfulness, guard and keep open equally to all the highways of American commerce. Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law, and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith; the investor will find security for his capital; dividends will be rendered more certain; and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

Under such a system of constructive regulation, legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

We favor strengthening the Sherman law by prohibiting agreements to divide territory or line limit; refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals; to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places; using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns, and other unfair trade practices. We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a patent law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare in the interests of injurious monopolies.

We pledge our party to secure to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to value the physical property of railroads. In order that the

power of the commission to protect the people may be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the commerce court.

We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The issue of currency is fundamentally a government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the Government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall street or any special interests.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to effective public control. The time has come when the Federal Government should co-operate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce. To this end we demand adequate appropriations by Congress, and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth, and not in consideration of political expediency.

THE WELFARE OF OUR PEOPLE.

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. In every way possible our Federal Government should co-operate in this important matter. Germany's policy of co-operation between government and business has in comparatively few years made that nation a leading competitor for the commerce of the world.

The natural resources of the nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people's needs, but we cannot safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized, or controlled against the general good.

We heartily favor the policy of conservation and we pledge our party to protect the national forests without hindering their legitimate use for the benefit of all the people. Agricultural lands in the national forests are, and should remain open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly without hinderance, rules or delays.

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water-powers, and other natural resources, still in State or national control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the State or

nation, and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water-power rights hereafter granted by the public. We pledge legislation to lease the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the actual home-maker. Natural resources whose conservation is necessary for the national welfare should be owned or controlled by the nation.

We recognize the vital importance of good roads and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way and we favor the early construction of national highways. We also favor the extension of the rural free delivery service.

The coal and other resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States and are safe from monopoly, waste or destruction only while so owned. We demand that they shall neither be sold nor given away except under the homestead law, but while held in Government ownership shall be opened to use promptly upon liberal terms requiring immediate development.

THE BENEFIT OF CHEAP FUEL.

Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the Government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific Coast; the settlement of extensive agricultural land will be hastened; the extermination of the salmon will be prevented; and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly. We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction or improvement by the Government of such railroads, harbor and other facilities for transportation as the welfare of the people may demand.

We promise the people of the Territory of Alaska the same measure of local self-government that was given to other American Territories, and that Federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the Territory.

The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic as parts of a great nation-wide system of transportation in which the Panama Canal will be the central link, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to be in touch with the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard.

It is a national obligation to develop our rivers and especially the

Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system from its sources to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water power and the prevention of floods.

We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan which should be made and carried out in close and friendly co-operation between the nation, the States and those affected. Under such a plan the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams which represent a vast and needless loss to the nation, would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters, and by levees below; land, sufficient to support millions of people will be reclaimed from the deserts and the swamps, water power enough to transform the industrial standings of whole States would be developed, adequate water terminals would be provided, transportation by river would revive, and the railroads would be compelled to co-operate as freely with the boat lines as with each other.

LAKES TO THE GULF.

The equipment, organization, and experience acquired in constructing the Panama Canal soon will be available for the lakes-to-the-gulf deep waterway and other portions of this great work, and should be utilized by the nation in co-operation with the various States, at the lowest net cost to the people.

The Panama Canal, built and paid for by the American people, must be used primarily for their benefit. We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the trans-continental railroads by maintaining sea competition with them, that ships directly or indirectly owned or controlled by American railroad corporations shall not be permitted to use the canal, and that American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pay no tolls.

The Progressive party will favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin-American nations.

We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living. Primarily the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserves protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of Federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the

people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific Tariff Commission, reporting both to the President and to either branch of Congress, which shall report, first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor and capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress; second, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of government, and, thirdly, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen, and on the purchasing power of the consumer. We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information, and for this purpose to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing these schedules generally recognized as excessive.

UNJUST TO THE PEOPLE.

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and cannot again be trusted to keep, the promise of necessary downward revision. The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster. We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act.

We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a national means of equalizing the obligations of holders of property to government, and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a Federal law as will tax large inheritances, returning to the States an equitable percentage of all amounts collected. We favor the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution giving the Government power to levy an income tax.

The Progressive party deplores the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations, with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences. We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces. Pending such an agreement and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at

home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our Government which discriminates between American citizens because of birth-place, race or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

Through the establishment of industrial standards we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrant and to his native fellow-workers a larger share of American opportunity.

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to rigidly supervise all private agencies dealing with them, and to promote their assimilation, education and advancement.

We pledge ourselves to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers and sailors and their widows and children by the Federal Government. And we approve the policy of the Southern States in granting pensions to the ex-Confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children. We pledge our party to the immediate creation of a parcels post with rates proportionate to distance and service.

VIOLATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW.

We condemn the violations of the civil service law under the present administration, including the coercion and assessment of subordinate employes, and the President's refusal to punish such violation after a finding of guilty by his own commission; his distribution of patronage among subservient Congressmen, while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration measures; his withdrawal of nominations from the Senate until political support for himself was secured, and his open use of the offices to reward those who voted for his renomination.

To eradicate these abuses we demand not only the enforcement of the civil service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of an equitable retirement law, and we also insist upon continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the national Government and a proper co-ordination of the Federal bureaus, which will increase the economy and efficiency of the government service, prevent duplications and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of

dollars every year, through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage-earner and the men and women with small savings, have no means of knowing of the right of the concerns sending out highly-colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

We hold it to be the duty of the Government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We, therefore, demand wise, carefully-thought-out legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much-needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

On these principles and on the recognized desirability of unity the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the progressive spirit and policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

CHAPTER X

THE RECALL OF JUDGES.

NO modern theory of government has more earnest devotees nor more bitter opponents than has the doctrines of "the recall of judges."

Of the three most prominent candidates for the Presidency, Taft and Wilson oppose it, while Roosevelt has spoken strongly in its favor.

Governor Wilson faced the proposition fairly at Portland, Ore., more than a year before his nomination for the Presidency.

Before a crowd which thronged the auditorium of the Third Regiment Armory to the doors he was enthusiastically received by a curious crowd anxious to see the probable Democratic nominee for President. The Governor took the "Oregon system" for his theme. He explained that the initiative and referendum as well as direct primary nominating systems were a credit to the citizenship of the State.

"As to the recall," he said, "it must be either very stubborn or very stupid. While I heartily favor the use of the recall for all administrative offices, I do not approve of it for the judiciary on theory. We are prone to use too much haste; to take too many shortcuts. I admit that, logically, it is unanswerable that if we elect judges we have the right to recall them, but I don't care a peppercorn for logic."

President Taft, of course, is most strongly opposed to what he denominates anarchistic theories.

The idea is not new. In a way, we have the germ of it today, in the provision for constitutional amendments. That is, we think we have. A case that goes to prove the contrary is found in the experience of California.

The people of California in their constitution said that whenever

a railroad shall, for the purpose of competing with any other common carrier, lower its rates, such rates shall not be again raised without the consent of the proper State authority. But the Supreme Court was not satisfied with the obvious meaning of these words. It felt that the men who wrote this constitution meant something else.

So the Supreme Court went ahead and declared what it thought the framers of the constitution meant to say—which was just what the framers didn't say. And this decision of the Supreme Court is *the law* in California. But the well-intentioned and classically instructed lawyer will immediately say: "But you have a remedy at hand. Draw up a constitutional amendment, and make the provision say again exactly what you want it to say."

Many of our States have laws limiting the number of amendments which may be submitted to the people at any one time. The original idea of this limitation was sound. It aimed at preventing the voters from being confused by a multiplicity of issues. So some States allow only two, or four, or seven amendments on the ballot at any one election.

A REAL, FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION.

It has worked out this way, however, in those States: when the machine at the State capitol feels that a real, fundamental question is to be offered as an amendment, those on the inside immediately draw up the full legal number of amendments and see that these amendments are given precedence of consideration by the Legislature. Their amendments, needless to add, are always of no importance—unless it be some excuse to spend more money. Thus the vital question goes over until the next year. Then the same tactics are easily adopted again.

But grant that a constitutional amendment is procured, and that you make the amendment speak in such a way as to override the decision of the court. Theoretically, this is fine. Practically, it is ineffective. The court may still decide that you did not at all mean what you said. *And this decision would remain the law!*

So practically there is no appeal from it. The people must have some method of forcing their intentions into our body of law, of

handling just such cases of judicial misinterpretation. They must be able to reach the decision itself.

The recall as applied in this respect seems to offer a remedy. When judicial casuistry and misinterpretation go so far that a court attempts to tell a Legislature what it meant when the Legislature deliberately says the opposite; when such cases occur as often as they have occurred, in California, Washington, Ohio, Missouri, etc., then the recall of such decisions is surely a conservative remedy. And how mild compared with the recall of judges themselves!

Verily, we are a cautious people.

CHAPTER XI

OUR MOST IMPORTANT LAND LAWS.

BY HON. KNUTE NELSON,

United States Senator from Minnesota; Chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands; and Chairman of the Committee on Lands, National Conservation Commission.

THE most important, in many respects, of all our land laws, the law under which so many poor people have been enabled to secure for themselves happy homes, and under which our country has been so rapidly developed and settled, is the homestead act of 1862, a veritable home-builders' law. Under this law, as now amended, every person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and who is a citizen, or has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and who is not the owner of 160 acres of land, may enter one quarter section or less of the "unappropriated public lands," at the district land office.

After making such entry he must establish his residence on the land within six months thereafter and must continue from thenceforth to reside upon, cultivate and improve the land for the period of five years, at the end of which time, or within two years thereafter, on furnishing the required proof of compliance with the law, as to residence, improvement and cultivation, he is permitted to make final entry of the land, without paying anything therefore, except the land office fees, and thereupon patent will issue to him in due course. A person who has only declared his intention to become a citizen when making his first entry must be fully naturalized before he can make the final entry.

Under the original law the homesteader acquired no right to the land before he made his first entry at the land office; but under an amendment to the law a homesteader may settle on unsurveyed land,

and if he then makes entry of the land within three months after the plats of survey have been filed in the district land office his right to the land will date from the time he initiated his settlement. In case the homesteader is unwilling to reside upon the land for the five years and is willing to pay for the land, he can "commute" his entry as under the pre-emption law.

Originally he could "commute" after six months' residence, as under the pre-emption law, but under the law of 1891 this period was extended to fourteen months. "Commuting" consists in furnishing proof of residence and cultivation for the period of fourteen months and paying the minimum price, \$1.25 per acre, for the land. The Land Department originally construed the act of 1891 by counting the period of fourteen months from the date of the entry and inasmuch as the entryman had six months in which to establish his residence upon the land, it led to a residence and cultivation of only eight months. This rule has now for some time been abandoned and fourteen months of actual and continued residence and cultivation is now required before an entry can be "commuted."

THE HOMESTEAD LAW.

The homestead law has proved a great blessing to the poor and needy settler in enabling him to pay for his farm by merely residing upon, improving and cultivating the same for the period of five years. Starting without any capital, except a zealous spirit and strong arms, he finds himself at the end of five industrious years the possessor of a good home, worth from three to six thousand dollars, and meanwhile he has been paying his taxes, furnishing trade and traffic for the merchant and the railroad, and living immune from the controversies recurring between capital and labor, because, in his case, capital and labor have been concentrated in one head.

Another important land law remains to be noticed. I refer to the timber and stone act of June 3, 1878, originally limited to the States of California, Oregon, Nevada and Washington, but subsequently, by the act of August 4, 1892, extended to all the public land States. Under this law any person who is a citizen, or has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States, may purchase

and acquire title to 160 acres of unappropriated, uninhabited and unreserved non-mineral public land of the United States, unfit for cultivation, and valuable chiefly for timber or stone, at the minimum price of \$2.50 per acre.

Only one tract of 160 acres can be purchased by any person and before he can purchase the same, he must present to the register of the district land office his sworn statement, specifying, among other things, that he does not apply to purchase the same on speculation, but in good faith to appropriate it to his own exclusive use and benefit, and that he has not, directly or indirectly, made any agreement, or contract, in any way or manner, with any person by which the title he may acquire shall inure to the benefit of any person but himself.

LAND GRANTS FOR RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION.

It must further be noted that large quantities of public lands have been, at various times, directly or indirectly, granted to railroad companies to promote the construction of railroads. Years ago there were limited grants made for the construction of canals and other waterway improvements, and for wagon roads; and the States, too, have received large and liberal grants for educational purposes, for reclaiming wet and overflowed lands, and for other purposes of internal and municipal improvements.

From this brief review of our public land system—if indeed such a varied and heterogeneous course of procedure can be called a system—it appears that the Government started out with the idea that it was desirable to dispose of the land as soon as possible at the highest obtainable price. The land was regarded simply as an asset to be converted into cash as soon as possible, hence the plan of public sale supplemented private sales. Many of the pioneers and frontiersmen, however, who pressed into the wilderness to make homes, were too poor to pay for the land immediately.

So, in the first instance, they became mere squatters, but as they, and not the speculators who bought at public sale, were the real settlers who occupied, subdued and improved the public domain and became the nucleus and founders of municipal government, the Gov-

ernment began to see the necessity of giving them a helping hand. While still adhering to the purchasing idea, it gave them a first chance to buy, with a brief breathing spell in which to raise the necessary funds. Hence came the many special, and ultimately the general pre-emption laws. The settler must still buy at the same price as the speculator, but he was given a chance to make a short start on his claim before paying the price.

My conclusion, from this brief survey of our land system is, that in view of the rapid increase of our population and in view of the rapidly diminishing area of our public domain, no agricultural land should be disposed of except under the homestead law without the "commutation" privilege; that none of our remaining forest lands should be disposed of, but only the large and mature timber; and that our arid lands should be disposed of for agricultural purposes to actual settlers under the reclamation law.

CHAPTER XII

THE PURE FOOD LAW.

The pure food bill was passed by the House of Representatives May 25, 1906, and by the Senate June 19. The first section of the laws prohibits the manufacture in any territory or in the District of Columbia of any article of food or drug which is adulterated or misbranded. Each violation of the law is punishable by a fine of not more than \$500 or by a year's imprisonment or by both. The second section prohibits the introduction into any State or Territory from any other State or Territory or from any foreign country or the shipment to any foreign country of adulterated or misbranded foods or drugs. Any person shipping, receiving, offering for sale or exporting such foods or drugs is subject to a fine of not exceeding \$200 for the first offense and to a fine or not more than \$300 or a year's imprisonment or both for each subsequent offense.

Section 3 provides that the secretaries of the treasury, agriculture and commerce and labor shall make rules for carrying out the provisions of the act, including the collection and examination of specimens of foods and drugs. Section 4 provides that the examinations shall be made in the bureau of chemistry of the Department of Agriculture or under the direction of the bureau. Persons accused of violating the act shall be given an opportunity to be heard at the examination. If the law has been violated the facts are to be certified by the secretary of agriculture to the proper United States district attorney, whose duty it shall be (Section 5) to begin appropriate proceedings in the United States courts for the enforcement of the penalties.

Sections 7 and 8 in full are as follows:

"Sec. 7. That for the purpose of this act an article shall be deemed to be adulterated—

"In case of drugs:

"1. If, when a drug is sold under or by a name recognized in

the United States Pharmacopœia or National Formulary, it differs from the standard of strength, quality or purity as determined by the test laid down in the United States Pharmacopœia or National Formulary official at the time of investigation; Provided, That no drug defined in the United States Pharmacopœia or National Formulary shall be deemed to be adulterated under this provision if the standard of strength, quality or purity be plainly stated upon the bottle, box or other container thereof, although the standard may differ from that determined by the test laid down in the United States Pharmacopœia or National Formulary.

“2. If its strength or purity fall below the professed standard or quality under which it is sold.

In the case of confectionery:

“If it contains terra alba, barytes, talc, chrome yellow or other mineral substance or poisonous color or flavor, or other ingredient deleterious or detrimental to health, or any vinous, malt or spirituous liquor or compound or narcotic drug.

“In the case of food:

“1. If any substance has been mixed and packed with it so as to reduce or lower or injuriously affect its quality or strength.

“2. If any substance has been substituted wholly or in part for the article.

“3. If any valuable constituent of the article has been wholly or in part abstracted.

“4. If it be mixed, colored, powdered, coated or stained in a manner whereby damage or inferiority is concealed.

“5. If it contain any added poisonous or other added deleterious ingredient which may render such article injurious to health: Provided, That when in the preparation of food products for shipment they are preserved by an external application applied in such manner that the preservative is necessarily removed mechanically, or by maceration in water, or otherwise, and directions for the removal of said preservative shall be printed on the covering or the package, the provisions of this act shall be construed as applying only when said products are ready for consumption.

"6. If it consists in whole or in part of a filthy, decomposed or putrid animal or vegetable substance or any portion of an animal unfit for food, whether manufactured or not, or if it is the product of a diseased animal or one that has died otherwise than by slaughter.

"Sec.8. That the term 'misbranded,' as used herein, shall apply to all drugs or articles of food or articles which enter into the composition of food, the package or label of which shall bear any statement, design or device regarding such article or the ingredients or substances contained therein which shall be false or misleading in any particular, and to any food or drug product which is falsely branded as to the State, Territory or country in which it is manufactured or produced.

"That for the purpose of this act an article shall also be deemed to be misbranded:

"In case of drugs:

"1. If it be an imitation of or offered for sale under the name of another article.

"2. If the contents of the package as originally put up shall have been removed, in whole or in part, and other contents shall have been placed in such package, or if the package fail to bear a statement on the label of the quantity or proportion of any alcohol, morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, alpha or beta eucaine, chloroform, cannabis, indica, chloral hydrate, or acetanilide or any derivative or preparation of any such substances contained therein.

"In the case of food.

"1. If it be an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article.

"2. If it be labeled or branded so as to deceive or mislead the purchaser or purport to be a foreign product when not so, or if the contents of the package as originally put up shall have been removed in whole or in part and other contents shall have been placed in such package, or if it fail to bear a statement on the label of the quantity or proportion of any morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, alpha or beta eucaine, chloroform, cannabis indica, chloral hydrate

or acetanilide or any derivative or preparation of any such substances contained therein.

"3. If in package form, and the contents are stated in terms of weight or measure, they are not plainly and correctly stated on the outside of the package.

"4. If the package containing it or its label shall bear any statement, design or device regarding the ingredients or the substances contained therein, which statement, design or device shall be false or misleading in any particular: Provided, That an article of food which does not contain any added poisonous or deleterious ingredients shall not be deemed to be adulterated or misbranded in the following cases:

MIXTURES OR COMPOUNDS.

"1. In the case of mixtures or compounds which may be now or from time to time hereafter known as articles of food, under their own distinctive names, and not an imitation of or offered for sale under the distinctive name of another article, if the name be accompanied on the same label or brand with a statement of the place where said article has been manufactured or produced.

"2. In the case of articles labeled, branded or tagged so as to plainly indicate that they are compounds, imitations or blends, and the word 'compound,' 'imitation' or 'blend,' as the case may be, is plainly stated on the package in which it is offered for sale: Provided, That the term 'blend' as used herein shall be construed to mean a mixture or like substances, not excluding harmless coloring or flavoring ingredients used for the purpose of coloring and flavoring only: And provided further, That nothing in this act shall be construed as requiring or compelling proprietors or manufacturers of proprietary foods which contain no unwholesome added ingredient to disclose their trade formulas, except in so far as the provisions of this act may require to secure freedom from adulteration or misbranding."

Section 9 provides that no dealer shall be prosecuted under the act when he can produce a guaranty signed by the wholesaler, manu-

facturer or other party that the articles in question are not misbranded or adulterated.

Section 10 makes any article of food, drug or liquor that is adulterated or misbranded liable to be proceeded against in any district court of the United States and seized for confiscation by a process of libel for condemnation.

Section 11 provides that if after examination it shall appear that any article of food or drug that is misbranded or adulterated or is dangerous to health is offered to be imported into the United States, such article shall be refused admission.

Section 12 provides that the term "territory" as used in the act shall include the insular possessions of the United States and that the word "person" shall be construed to include corporations, companies, societies and associations. The acts of agents shall in every case be considered the acts of the employing persons.

The law, according to the last section (13), goes into effect January 1, 1907.

CHAPTER XIII

PANAMA CANAL LEGISLATION.

EYES of the American people are upon the Government to see how it shall meet the suddenly presented British contention that Congress must make no rules governing operation of the Panama Canal, which will shortly be opened to world commerce, that will prefer American citizens and American interests in the use of the great isthmian waterway, which will have cost this country about \$375,000,000 to create.

When it became known that specific representations to this effect had been made to the American Government by the British Government, and that the latter had taken the extraordinary step of requesting the State Department to ask Congress to withhold action on the Panama Canal bill until the British objections to it could be stated in detail, there was a stir in diplomatic quarters such as has not been witnessed for a long time.

The first news of any intention on the part of British interests to make objection to such regulations as the United States would establish over the use of the Panama Canal came when A. Mitchell Innes, charge d'affaires of Great Britain, in the absence of Ambassador Bryce, transmitted on July 9 to Huntington Wilson, Assistant Secretary of State, a cabled message from the British Foreign Office. The next afternoon a formal note from the British charge d'affaires, who was at Kineo, Me., was received by P. C. Knox, Secretary of State.

Although the text of the British note was withheld, it was said at the State Department that the British Government felt that to allow American vessels to pass through the Panama Canal without the payment of tolls or to refund tolls collected by them would be to violate the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which relates to the canal.

As to the coastwise traffic, the British Government felt it would

be difficult to frame a provision that would not be unjust to its interests.

It was requested that Congress hold the pending bill until the embassy had an opportunity to transmit to the State Department a supplementary statement from the British Government.

Taking this position, the British Government plainly claimed the right to approve or disapprove of conditions governing the use of a distinctly American work and to refuse to American ships any benefits which are not made equally available to vessels flying the flags of other nations, not one of which has contributed a cent of the construction cost of the Panama Canal. It is frankly admitted that the attitude of Great Britain is pregnant with possibilities.

SUGGESTIVE OF A SERIOUS CLASH.

Not since the Venezuela incident has the British Government done anything which so nearly suggests a serious clash of interests with the American nation as does the present action. In the Venezuela matter there had been a long controversy over the boundary between that country and British Guiana. In 1894 Venezuela occupied the disputed territory, and Great Britain demanded reparation.

The United States proposed to mediate in upholding the Monroe doctrine, but Lord Salisbury, the British premier, was unwilling. Then, in 1895, came the splendid action by President Cleveland, which lifted the American nation into commanding place in the eyes of the world. He sent his famous message to Congress, asking appointment of a commission to determine the disputed boundary, and broadly intimating that any forcible attempt by Great Britain upon Venezuela would be met by armed interference by the United States to protect her sister republic. Congress acted promptly and Great Britain backed water at once.

Great Britain's present representations have created an extraordinary situation. Judging from expressions of opinion by both Senators and Representatives, it seems that the British request that Congress shall wait upon British ideas before acting on the Panama

Canal administration bill does not find large sympathy with Congress.

The canal bill was in the Senate committee on interoceanic canals when the British note was presented, with prospects of being reported soon, and then going to conference with the House. Congressmen at both ends of the capitol felt that if any Panama legislation is to be had, it must be at this session of Congress. The exigencies which have arisen by the necessary reductions of force as the canal approaches completion make legislation necessary if a permanent organization is to be set up on the Canal Zone to the best advantage.

Senator Brandegee, chairman of the committee, replied to the State Department that the legislation proposed was regarded as extremely urgent, and that the committee had planned to report the canal bill to the full Senate some time the next week.

FREE PASSAGE TO AMERICAN COASTWISE TRADE.

The bill, as it stood, allowed free passage of the Panama Canal by all American vessels engaged in coastwise trade. In this respect the Government merely extends the navigation law of 1792, which pre-empted such trade to American ships. It is also provided in the bill that American railroad-owned ships may pass through the canal free of tolls, and engage in coastwise trade, but only when half their cargoes come from or are bound for transoceanic ports.

Tolls are to be collected on foreign ships using the canal. The Canadian Pacific and two other great Canadian railway companies propose large use of the Panama Canal by ships which they will own and operate. No doubt these powerful companies have made strong representations to the British Foreign Office, very probably through Premier Borden, of Canada, who is now in London.

It is fully believed that the British Government will hold that, under the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1902, the United States is barred from giving any preference to American ships. The opinion among many American statesmen is that to grant free tolls to American ships is not a violation of the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

Senator Lodge called attention to a bill introduced by him in December, 1911. This bill was originally proposed by Senator Frye. It provides that "all tolls and transit charges which may hereafter be imposed on public vessels of the United States and on merchant vessels of the United States for passing through the Panama Canal shall be paid from any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated."

The effect of such an act would be the same as that of the free tolls provision, and it is possible the Senate may adopt it as a way to meet the situation, in the event that Great Britain insists upon a reading of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in a way inimical to American interests.

THE UNITED STATES' RIGHT TO REGULATE TRAFFIC.

That not only Great Britain but all of the maritime powers might be expected to protest against any canal regulations in favor of American vessels has been fully anticipated, yet, notwithstanding that fact, President Taft and Secretary Stimson, the member of his Cabinet directly charged with the construction and operation of the Panama Canal, have, after careful investigation, committed themselves to the assertion of the right of the United States to regulate traffic in the manner provided in the pending bill.

The strongest statement of the administration's position was that made by Secretary Stimson in his Kansas City speech, November 14, 1911, dealing with the Panama Canal as a work about to be completed. He declared that he had not the least doubt of the right of the United States to pay subsidies to American vessels using the canal, which would be equivalent to granting free passage.

President Taft has transferred the entire responsibility for action to the shoulders of Congress, and has let it be known that he proposed to be guided entirely by its will. So, if the legislation is perfected on the present lines, the legislative branch of the Government will be bound to lend unqualified support to the State Department in what is almost certain to be a period of extremely active and pregnant exchange of notes with the great maritime powers.

It is regarded as probable that any representations which Great

Britain shall make now in regard to the use of the Panama Canal will be supported by Japan. Germany, France and possibly other nations. The matter of moment is, how far those powers may go to sustain a protest against the proposed control of the Panama Canal by the United States.

Members of the Senate interoceanic canals committee who discussed the situation, declared that there would be no "backing down" by the Senate from its position in favor of free passage of American ships.

The United States will hold that so long as the ships of all foreign nations are accorded the same treatment in the use of the canal, the United States may pass American ships free or rebate the tolls charged them. This position was taken by the House when it reversed the report of the House interstate and foreign committee, which would have prevented free passage to American ships, and passed the present bill.

The ultimate passage of the measure now before the Senate seemed assured. The men behind the bill in the Senate said that the British note would not prevent consideration of the measure whenever it could be reached in the ordinary course of business.

After a conference with President Taft, Representative Sulzer, of New York, chairman of the House committee on foreign affairs, made a statement supporting the bill. He said:

"Of course, I am surprised that the British Government now objects to the United States Government regulating the tolls of its own ships through the Panama Canal. However, nothing serious will come of the objection. We will treat it with the dignity it deserves. The treaty is plain and clear to all. The British Government should not and cannot complain if no toll discrimination is made against British ships in favor of the ships of other nations."

CHAPTER XIV

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

THE battle for woman suffrage has now been waging in America for more than half a century. That the cause has a large and constantly increasing number of stanch supporters among college women there can be no doubt; yet other women—many of them prominent ones—have declared themselves unalterably opposed to it in principle and in practice.

The fact that Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressives have given "votes for women" their unqualified indorsement makes it a vital issue of the campaign.

The inception of the movement antedates the birth of the republic; for two days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence the State of New Jersey changed the wording of the enfranchisement clause of its Provincial Chart from "Male freeholders worth fifty pounds" to "*All inhabitants* worth fifty pounds," thus giving the ballot to women as well as to men. As democratic principles and ideas spread, the property qualification became very unpopular, and in 1807 a law was enacted under which only white males whose names were on the State or county list were permitted to vote, women and negroes being disfranchised.

It was not till 1847 that any concerted action was taken toward the enfranchisement of women. Wyoming was the first State to give them the ballot (1869), and since then Colorado, Utah, Idaho and California have followed her example.

In the last fifteen years the suffragist army has been largely recruited from "the most intelligent and reflective part of the community," and when such a stage is reached in any movement founded on a plea whose abstract justice is admitted, "it is certain that the end will soon be attained; and it is no particular foresight which prophesies that woman suffrage will eventually be tried."

Four arguments of the anti-suffragists are disposed of by one woman writer as follows :

(1) It is said that women will not vote when they get the ballot, because the majority of women do not want to vote.

No, of course not! Who does want to vote just for the sake of voting? But give a woman something to vote about, and she is not slow in doing it. In three successive Wyoming elections 90 per cent. of the women voted, as against 80 per cent. only of the men.

(2) It has been prophesied that, once the poll-habit is formed, the house and children will be neglected.

It does not appear that a man neglects his shop or office in order to vote: why then should a woman take a different stand in regard to her business?—for assuredly homekeeping and child-training are the business of all women happy enough to possess a home and children.

(3) The effect of the ballot given to woman will be the degradation of her character.

WOMAN'S POSITION IN POLITICS NOT DEGRADING.

Is it possible that thinking about politics is so degrading? How have men escaped contamination? Are reading and discussion upon themes and schemes of *good* government so pernicious that no woman can approach them and retire unsoiled? What we say among ourselves and in our homes might surely be said on a slip of paper with as little harm to our morals.

Do the prophets mean that going to the polls on election day is degrading? It has been claimed that the coming of women to the polls has improved the condition thereof.

The prophecy may be founded on the fact that voters are not exempt from military and jury duty. Priests—who do not even give sons to the State—are practically so exempt; and doctors rarely sit on a jury. And women today follow the drum as nurses quite as faithfully and fearlessly as their brothers, the chaplain and the doctor.

(4) That the vast majority of women are uninformed, and not informable, on political subjects; that they will be the followers of the most successful intriguer and "ward heeler."

So they may for a time; and I would respectfully submit that in these things they would imitate the men they knew best. Very little else could be looked for at first, if every woman fit or unfit rushed to the polls; but the mass of women is being slowly educated.

The thought and energies of many earnest women have for thirty-five years been devoted to this subject of education and uplifting, and the result must be forthcoming in future generations.

The suffragist condenses the old prophecies with the refutation into the following form of recapitulation:

(1) Universal woman suffrage will be tried; perhaps not soon, but in no very distant time.

(2) It will not destroy the home and woman's work therein.

(3) It will not degrade woman or produce any very great change in her character.

(4) It will not fail because of woman's indifference.

(5) It will not overwhelm our present Government by a great tide of crude and ill-considered opinion. It is far more likely, for a while at least, to bring strength to reform and lifeblood to vital issues.

CHAPTER XV

THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST LAW.

Following is the text of the Sherman Anti-trust Law, which was passed by the Fifty-first Congress and approved July 2, 1890:

Section 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize or combine or conspire with any person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce in any territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such territory and another, or between any such territory and another, or between any such territory or territories and any State or States or the District of Columbia or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are

hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent or restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts under the direction of the attorney-general, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

Sec. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under Section 4 of this act may be pending that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpoenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

Sec. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in Section 1 of this act and being in the course of transportation from one State to another or to a foreign country shall be forfeited to the United States and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Sec. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared unlawful by this act may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover threefold the damages by him sustained and the cost of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Sec. 8. That the word "person" or "persons" wherever used in this act be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the territories, the laws of any State or the laws of any foreign country.

CHAPTER XVI.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The initiative, the referendum and the recall are not part of any doctrine. They are mere pieces of machinery, and they can be used to help or to hinder one doctrine as well as another—popular errors and popular truths alike. The whole case for the new doctrines must rest on their value as machinery for the people to express themselves.

Now it is generally agreed and universally known that the people in many States have little direct voice in nominating members of a legislature; and they have still less to do with the legislation that is enacted. Except when there is a great public scandal, such as the investigation of life insurance companies revealed several years ago in New York, the people have so little influence in shaping legislation that in most States they have lost interest in it. Groups of men, bosses and political managers, the special interests and the privileged classes do what they please.

And this is the chief reason why the power and influence of State governments have waned. We complain of the ever-growing activity of the Federal government, when every observant man knows that one of the chief reasons for the concentration of political power is the decline of local political power. The State governments neglect their duties and more and more the Federal government assumes them.

Now one of the best results of the initiative and the referendum in Oregon has been to put new life into the State government—into all local government. As soon as the people find themselves able (in fact obliged) to give attention to their local problems, indifference ceases. They take an eager and active interest in public affairs. Local government takes on a new kind of life. The necessity of keeping informed on public questions prevents the political stagnation of the people.

Again, it is said that the initiative and referendum abolish representative government. They have shown a strong tendency to abolish the government that represent special groups of men—yes, decidedly. They really restore the government that represents the people. If government is again to become really representative, some such machinery is necessary.

These criticisms of the new measures of popular control are interesting because of the sources from which they come. They come from one class of men and of journals which are sincerely unwilling to trust the judgment of the people at the polls; and they come from another class of men and journals which for selfish reasons are unwilling to trust the judgment of the people.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

The judgment of the people is not infallible. Popular moods are often wrong. But after all, the judgment of the people is our court of last appeal; and throughout our history it has been found, whenever it has been tried, a thousand-fold safer than the judgment of small groups of men, especially of selfishly interested men. The surprising thing in the use that has thus far been made in the Western States and cities of the referendum and the recall is the conservative temper of the voters that this use has revealed. They have time and again defeated radical proposals.

But, good or bad, this new machinery for expressing the popular will is making its way into popular favor with such rapidity as to make sure of a very general trial of it. There is an increasing number of men—men who, from a study of theory, reject this innovation, but who, when they see the practical results, approve of it.

The question raised is simply this: Shall the voice of the people be heard directly on political subjects and shall the judgment of the people be trusted? Or, is it better to go on with the old boss system, which thrives because it can be worked in spite of the people? The people's answer is not doubtful. And the men or the parties that stand in the way are in danger of being run over pretty quickly.

TURNS OF THE TIDE SINCE 1880 ARE TOLD AS A GUIDE FOR 1912

	Electoral Vote	1880	1884	1888	1892	1896	1900	1904	1908	1912
Maine	6	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
New Hampshire	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Vermont	4	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Massachusetts	18	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Connecticut	7	R	D	D	D	R	R	R	R	—
Rhode Island	5	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
New York	45	R	D	R	D	R	R	R	R	—
Pennsylvania	38	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
New Jersey	14	D	D	D	D	R	R	R	R	—
Maryland	8	D	D	D	D	R	R	D R	D R	—
Delaware	3	D	D	D	D	R	R	R	R	—
Virginia	12	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
West Virginia	8	D	D	D	D	R	R	R	R	—
North Carolina	12	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
South Carolina	9	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Georgia	14	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Florida	6	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Alabama	12	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Mississippi	10	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Louisiana	10	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Texas	20	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Arkansas	9	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Oklahoma	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	D	—
Tennessee	12	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Kentucky	13	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	—
Ohio	24	R	R	R	R D	R	R	R	R	—
Indiana	15	R	D	R	D	R	R	R	R	—
Illinois	29	R	R	R	D	R	R	R	R	—
Iowa	13	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Michigan	15	R	R	R	R D	R	R	R	R	—
Wisconsin	13	R	R	R	D	R	R	R	R	—
Missouri	18	D	D	D	D	D	D	R	R	—
Minnesota	12	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	—
Kansas	10	R	R	R	Pop.	D	R	R	R	—
Nebraska	8	R	R	R	R	D	R	R	D	—
North Dakota	5	—	—	—	R D	R	R	R	R	—
South Dakota	5	—	—	—	R	D	R	R	R	—
Washington	7	—	—	—	R	D	R	R	R	—
Oregon	5	R	R	R	R D	R	R	R	R	—
California	13	D	R	R	R D	R D	R	R	R	—
Idaho	4	—	—	—	Pop.	D	D	R	R	—
Nevada	3	D	R	R	Pop.	D	D	R	D	—
Montana	4	—	—	—	R	D	D	R	R	—
Wyoming	3	—	—	—	—	D	R	R	R	—
Utah	4	—	—	—	—	D	R	R	R	—
Colorado	6	R	R	R	Pop.	D	D	R	D	—
Arizona	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Mexico	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Total 532

R., republican; D., democrat; Pop., populist; D. R., divided electoral vote; —, a Territory, had no vote.

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT ALL OUR PRESIDENTS WITH SKETCHES OF THEIR LIVES.

ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON.

1789—1797.

The 4th of March, 1789, was the time appointed for the Government of the United States to go into operation under its new organization, but several weeks elapsed before quorums of both Houses of Congress were assembled. The city of New York was the place where Congress then met.

On the 6th of April the electoral votes were counted. At that time, and until 1805, each elector voted by ballot for two persons. If a majority of all the votes cast were cast for any person, he who received the greatest number of votes became President, and he who received the next greatest number became Vice-President. When the votes were counted they were found to be for George Washington, of Virginia, 69 (all of the electors having voted for him), John Adams, of Massachusetts, received 34 votes, and 35 votes were cast for various other candidates.

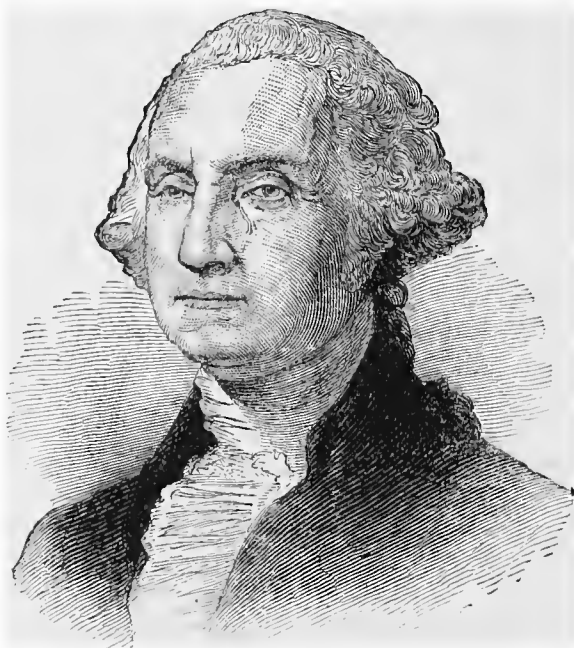
Charles Thompson, the oldest secretary of Congress, was sent to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. Washington promptly signified his acceptance of the office, and two days later started for New York. He was desirous of traveling as quietly and unostentatiously as possible, but the people of the States through which he passed would not permit him to do so. His journey was a constant ovation. Crowds greeted him at every town with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of affection and confidence; triumphal arches were erected, and his way was strewn with flowers by young girls, and maidens and mothers greeted him with songs composed in his honor. In consequence of these demonstrations his progress was so much retarded that he did not reach New York until the latter part of April.

On the 30th of April Washington appeared on the balcony of Federal Hall, New York, on the site of which the United States Treasury now stands, and took the oath of office in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and a large crowd of citizens assembled in the streets below. He then repaired to the Senate chamber, and there delivered an address to both Houses of Congress. The plan of the new Government being now completed, Congress

proceeded to its organization through the departments of the judiciary, of state, of the treasury, of war and of attorney-general.

President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, and Gen. Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War. John Jay, of New York, was made Chief Justice of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

In 1792 the second Presidential election took place. Washington was



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

anxious to retire, but yielded to the wishes of the people, and was again chosen President by the unanimous vote of the Electoral Colleges of the several States.

The electoral votes were counted in February, 1793, and found to be for George Washington 132 (all the electors having voted for him), for John Adams 77, for George Clinton 50, and for Thomas Jefferson 4. Washington was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1793.

At the close of his term of office Washington withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon, to enjoy the repose he had so well earned, and which was so grateful to him. His administration had been eminently successful. When he entered upon the duties of the Presidency the Government was new and un-

tried, and its best friends doubted its ability to exist long; the finances were in confusion, and the country was burdened with debt.

When he left office the state of affairs was changed. The Government had been severely tested, and had been found equal to any demand upon it. The disputes with England had been arranged, and the country, no longer threatened with war, was free to devote its energies to its improvement. Industry and commerce were growing rapidly.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

4th of March, 1797—4th of March, 1801.

At the elections held in the fall of 1796 the Federalists put forward John Adams, of Massachusetts, as their candidate, while the Republicans or Demo-



JOHN ADAMS.

crats supported Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. The contest was very bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, receiving the next highest number of votes, was declared Vice-President, in accordance with the law as it then stood.

The electoral vote was counted in February and was as follows: For John

Adams, 71; for Thomas Jefferson, 68; for Thomas Pinckney, 59; for Aaron Burr, 30, and the rest scattering.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Mr. Adams, the second President of the United States, was inaugurated at Philadelphia, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as Vice-President. Mr. Adams was dressed in a full suit of pearl-colored broadcloth, and wore his hair powdered. He was in the sixty-second year of his age, and in the full vigor of health and intellect.

Mr. Adams made no changes in the Cabinet left by President Washington, and the policy of his administration corresponded throughout with that of his great predecessor. He came into office at a time when this policy was to be subjected to the severest test, and was to be triumphantly vindicated by the trial. Mr. Adams began his official career with the declaration of his "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the belligerent powers of Europe."

During the summer of the year 1800 the seat of the general Government was removed from Philadelphia to the new Federal city of Washington, in the District of Columbia. On the 22d of November, the session of Congress was opened in the unfinished Capitol of Washington.

ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

4th of March, 1801—4th of March, 1809.

The elections for President and Vice-President were held in the autumn of 1800. John Adams was the Federalist candidate for the Presidency, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney the candidate of that party for Vice-President. The Republican or Democratic party nominated Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency, and Col. Aaron Burr, of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. The alien and sedition laws had rendered the Federalist party so unpopular that the electors chosen at the polls failed to make a choice, and the election was thrown upon the House of Representatives, according to the terms of the Constitution.

On the 17th of February, 1801, after thirty-six ballots, the House elected Thomas Jefferson President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States, for a term of four years from and after the 4th of March, 1801.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, was inaugurated at the new Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th of March, 1801. He was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been regarded as one of the most illustrious men in America.

He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, had represented the country as Minister to France, had served in the Cabinet of General Washington as Secretary of State, and had filled the high office of Vice-President

during the administration of Mr. Adams. He was the founder of the Democratic party, and was regarded by it with an enthusiastic devotion which could see no flaw in his character.

At the meeting of the seventh Congress, in December, 1801, President



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Jefferson, in pursuance of an announcement made some time before, inaugurated the custom which has since prevailed of sending a written message to each House of Congress, giving his views on public affairs and the situation of the country. Previous to this the President had always met the two Houses upon their assembling, and had addressed them in person.

In the fall of 1804 the fifth Presidential election was held. The Republicans, or Democrats, voted for Mr. Jefferson for the office of President, and George Clinton, of New York, for Vice-President. The Federals supported

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result was one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clinton, and fourteen only for Mr. Pinckney and Mr. King.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

4th of March, 1809—4th of March, 1817.

In the election of 1808 Mr. Jefferson, following example of President Washington, declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democratic or administration party supported James Madison for the Presidency, and George Clinton for the Vice-Presidency. The Federal party again nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result of the election was 122 electoral votes for Madison and 47 for Pinckney, for President, and 113 for Clinton and 47 for King, for Vice-President.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1809. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and had long been one of the most prominent men in the Union. He had borne a distinguished part in the convention of 1787, and was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1786, which brought about the assembling of this convention.

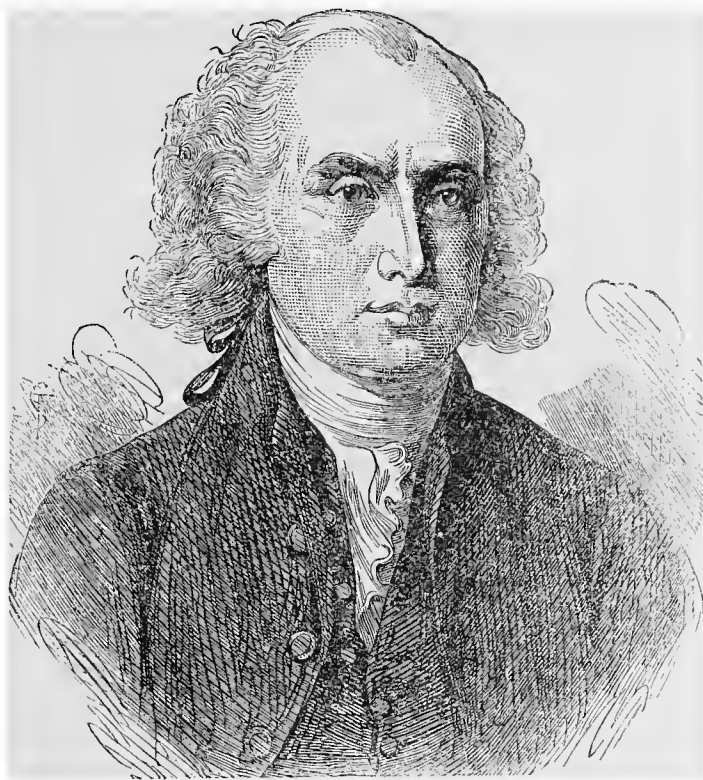
He had entered the convention as one of the most prominent leaders of the national party, which favored the consolidation of the States into one distinct and supreme nation, and had acted with Randolph, Hamilton, Wilson Morris and King in seeking to bring about such a result. When it was found impossible to carry out this plan Mr. Madison gave his cordial support to the system which was finally adopted by the convention, and while the constitution was under discussion by the States he united with Hamilton and Jay in earnestly recommending the adoption of the constitution by the States, in a series of able articles, to which the general title of the "Federalist" was given.

After the organization of the Government Mr. Madison was a member of the House of Representatives, and was regarded as one of the leaders of the Federalist party, and gave to Hamilton his cordial support in the finance measures of that minister.

In 1812 Mr. Madison was again nominated for President by the Democratic party, and Elbridge Gerry, of Connecticut, for Vice-President. De Witt Clinton, of New York, was supported by the anti-administration or old Federal party for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Mr. Madison received 128 electoral votes for President, and Mr. Clinton 89. Mr. Gerry received 131 for Vice-President, and Mr. Ingersoll 86.

Mr. Madison was inaugurated President for a second time on the 4th of March, 1813. The most distinguishing feature of his administration was the war with Great Britain. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or policy of that war, or of its general conduct, the result unquestionably added greatly to the public character of the United States in the estimation of foreign powers.

The price at which this had been purchased was in round numbers about one hundred million dollars in public expenditures, and the loss of about thirty



JAMES MADISON.

thousand men, including those who fell in battle as well as those who died of disease contracted in the service. At the close of his term Mr. Madison retired from office, leaving the country at peace with the world, and rapidly recovering from the injurious effects of the late war. He returned to his home at Montpelier, Virginia, where he enjoyed the society of his friends and the general esteem of his countrymen.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

4th of March, 1817—4th of March, 1825.

The eighth Presidential election took place in the fall of 1816. Mr. Madison having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, for President; Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for Vice-President, and elected them by large majorities over the Federal candidates, who were:



JAMES MONROE.

For President, Rufus King, of New York; for Vice-President, John Howard, of Maryland. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was 183 for Mr. Monroe, and 34 for Mr. King, for President; 183 for Mr. Tompkins, and 22 for Mr. Howard, for Vice-President.

James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His inaugural address gave general satisfaction to all parties. His Cabinet were John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina,

Secretary of War; William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General, and Smith Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy. These were all men of distinguished ability, and thoroughly identified with the Democratic party at the time.

In the fall of 1820 Mr. Monroe and Governor Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Monroe received at the polls a majority of the votes of every State in the Union, and every electoral vote but one.

The 4th of March this year coming on Sunday, Mr. Monroe was inaugurated for the second term on the succeeding day, Monday, the 5th, of that month.

Monroe's election had been so nearly unanimous and party divisions had nominally so far disappeared that his administration is commonly called the era of good feeling.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

4th of March, 1825—4th of March, 1829.

In the fall of 1824 the Presidential election was held amid great political excitement. The "Era of good feeling" was at an end, and party spirit ran high. There were four candidates in the field, Mr. Monroe having declined a third term—Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford and Henry Clay. None of these received a popular majority, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives in Congress, and resulted in the choice of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, as President of the United States.

The result of the electoral vote was 99 for Andrew Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for William H. Crawford and 37 for Henry Clay, for President, and 182 for John C. Calhoun, for Vice-President, with some scattering votes for others.

Mr. Calhoun having received a large majority of the electoral votes, was duly declared elected Vice-President, but neither of the candidates for President having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral Colleges, the choice, under the Constitution, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States.

This choice was made on the 9th of February, 1825, when, upon counting the ballots, it was found that John Quincy Adams received the votes of thirteen States, Andrew Jackson the votes of seven States and Mr. Crawford the votes of four States. Mr. Adams having received the votes of a majority of the States was declared elected to succeed Mr. Monroe.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated Presi-

dent of the United States. He was the son of John Adams, the second President of the republic, and was in his fifty-eighth year. He was a man of great natural ability, of strong personal character and of unbending integrity. He had been carefully educated and was one of the most learned men in the Union.

Apart from his general education he had received a special training in statesmanship. He had served as Minister to the Netherlands, and in the same capacity at the courts of Portugal, Prussia, Russia and England, where he had maintained a high reputation. He had represented the State of Massachu-



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

setts in the Federal Senate, and had been Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe during the last administration. He was, therefore, thoroughly qualified for the duties of the high office upon which he now entered.

He called to his Cabinet men of marked ability, at the head of which was Henry Clay, who became Secretary of State. The administration of Mr. Adams was one of remarkable prosperity. The country was growing wealthier by the rapid increase of its agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and abroad it commanded the respect of the world.

In the fall of 1828 Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election. The contest between the two parties—the Administration and Opposition—over the powers and limitations of the Federal Government became almost as hot and

fierce as it was in 1800 between the Federalists and Republicans of that day. General Jackson, without any caucus nomination, was supported by the Opposition everywhere for President, and Mr. Calhoun for Vice-President. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was 178 for Jackson, and 83 for Adams; 171 for Mr. Calhoun, and 83 for Mr. Rush.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

March 4th, 1829—March 4th, 1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1829.

President Jackson was in many respects one of the most remarkable men of his day. He possessed a combination of qualities seldom met with in any one person. Education had done but little for him, but by nature he was fitted for the government of men both in the field and in the Cabinet.

During the administration of the elder Adams he had occupied a seat in the United States Senate from Tennessee, and gave a most cordial support to the principles of Mr. Jefferson. Resigning his place in that body, he was afterwards elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court of his State. His military achievements in the wars against the Creek and Seminole Indians and his victory over the British at New Orleans have been fully recorded.

General Jackson began his administration by appointing a new Cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Secretary of State. Until now the Postmaster-General had not been regarded as a Cabinet officer. General Jackson invited that officer to a seat in his Cabinet and a share in its deliberations, and his course has been pursued by all of his successors.

In the fall of 1832 General Jackson was supported for the Presidency by the Democratic party, and Mr. Clay by the Whig party. The contest was marked by intense bitterness, for Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States, his other vetoes of public improvement bills and his attitude in the "Nullification" controversy between the United States and South Carolina had created a strong opposition to him in all parts of the country. In spite of this opposition he was re-elected by a triumphant majority, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic nominee, was chosen Vice-President.

The following electoral votes were cast for the respective candidates: For Jackson, 219; for Clay, 49, and for Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate, 7 votes. For Vice-President the electoral votes stood: For Martin Van Buren, 189; for John Sergeant, 49, and for Amos Ellmaker, 7.

President Jackson was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1833.

The administration of General Jackson was distinguished for many acts of foreign as well as domestic policy. Taken all together, it made a deep and lasting impression upon the policy and history of the States. On his retirement, following the example of Washington, he issued a farewell address, in which he evinced the most ardent patriotism and the most earnest devotion to the cause of constitutional liberty.

The Presidential election was held in the fall of 1836. General Jackson



ANDREW JACKSON.

having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party supported Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren was elected.

The electoral votes cast for the several candidates for President were as follows: One hundred and seventy for Martin Van Buren, 14 for Daniel Webster, 73 for William Henry Harrison, 11 for W. P. Mangall, of North Carolina, and 26 for H. L. White, of Tennessee. Mr. Van Buren having received a majority, was duly declared President for the next term.

ADMINISTRATION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN.

4th of March, 1837—4th of March, 1841.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. "At high noon the President-elect took his seat, with his venerable predecessor, General Jackson, in a carriage made from the wood of the frigate Constitu-



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

tion, presented to General Jackson by the Democracy of the city of New York.

In this from the White House they proceeded to the Capitol. After reaching the Senate chamber Mr. Van Buren, attended by the former President and the members of the Senate, led the way to the rostrum, where the inaugural address was delivered in clear and impressive tones. At the close of the address the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney."

In the address Mr. Van Buren indicated his purpose, on all matters of public policy, to follow in the "footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

In the fall of 1840 another Presidential election was held. Mr. Van Buren and Vice-President Johnson were nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, and the Whigs supported Gen. William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The financial distress of the country which had been very great since 1837, was generally attributed by the people to the interference of the Government with the currency. This feeling made the Democratic nominees exceedingly unpopular, and the political campaign was one of the most exciting ever conducted in this country.

The principal issues in this contest were the subtreasury system, extravagant appropriations, defalcations and profligacy of numerous subordinate officers. It was generally supposed that Mr. Clay would receive the nomination of this body for President, but his course on the Tariff Compromise of 1833 had greatly weakened him with the Protectionists.

When he adopted that course he was told it would lose him the Presidency. His reply at the time was "I would rather be right than be President." The Democratic party held their general convention in Baltimore on the 5th of May, 1840. Log cabins and hard cider, which were supposed to be typical of Harrison's frontier life, became very popular with the Whigs. The result of the election, after a heated canvass, was 234 electoral votes for Harrison, for President, and 234 for John Tyler, for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren received 60 electoral votes for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, received 48 for Vice-President.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER.

4th of March, 1841—4th of March, 1845.

William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The city of Washington was thronged with people, many of whom were from the most distant States of the Union. A procession was formed from his hotel quarters to the Capitol.

The President-elect was mounted upon a white charger, accompanied by several personal friends, but his immediate escort were the officers and soldiers who had fought under him. The inaugural address was delivered on a platform erected over the front steps of the portico of the east front of the Capitol. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney before an audience estimated at 60,000 persons.

He was a man of pure life and earnest character, and the certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the Federal Government had caused the people of the country to look forward to his administration with hope and confidence. He began by calling to seats in his Cabinet men of prominence and ability. At the head of the Cabinet he placed Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. The President was not destined to fulfil the hopes of his friends. He was suddenly attacked with pneumonia and died on the 4th of April—just one month after his inauguration.

The office of President now, for the first time, devolved upon the Vice-



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

President, John Tyler, who, by the death of General Harrison, became the tenth President of the United States. Mr. Tyler was in his fifty-second year, and had served as Governor of Virginia, and as Representative and Senator in Congress from that State. On the 9th of April President Tyler issued an address to the people of the United States, in which there was no indication of a departure from the policy announced in the inaugural of General Harrison. He retained the Cabinet ministers of his predecessor in their respective positions.

The last years of Mr. Tyler's administration were devoted to the effort to secure the annexation of the republic of Texas to the United States. The territory embraced within the limits of Texas constituted a part of the Spanish-American possessions, and was generally regarded as a part of Mexico.

In April, 1844, Texas formally applied for admission into the United States, and a treaty for that purpose was negotiated with her by the Government of this country. It was rejected by the Senate.

In the fall of 1844 the Presidential election took place. The leading political question of the day was the annexation of Texas. It was advocated by the administration of President Tyler and by the Democratic party. This party also made the claim of the United States to Oregon one of the leading issues of the campaign. Its candidates were James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania. The Whig party supported Henry



JOHN TYLER

Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and opposed the annexation of Texas.

The result of the campaign was a decisive victory for the Democrats. This success was generally regarded as an emphatic expression of the popular will respecting the Texas and Oregon questions.

The result of the election by the colleges was 170 electoral votes for James

K. Polk, for President, and 170 for George M. Dallas, for Vice-President; 105 for Henry Clay, for President, and 105 for Theodore Frelinghuysen, for Vice-President.

After the expiration of his term of office Mr. Tyler retired from the seat of Government to his residence in Virginia. His administration was a stormy one, but signalized by many important events. It was during this period that the electro-telegraphic system was established by Morse. A room was furnished him at the Capitol for his experimental operations in extending his wires to Baltimore, and among the first messages ever transmitted over them was the announcement of the nomination of Mr. Polk for the Presidency.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

4th of March, 1845—4th of March, 1849.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845, in the fiftieth year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney in the presence of a large



JAMES K. POLK.

assemblage of citizens. In his inaugural the new President spoke favorably of the late action of Congress in relation to Texas, and asserted that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was clear and indisputable, and intimated his intention to maintain it by force if necessary.

The new Cabinet consisted of James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secre-

tary of State; Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

During the fall of 1848 another Presidential election came off. The combined elements of opposition to the administration, in the main, continued to bear the name of Whigs. The Democratic party held their General Convention at Baltimore, on the 22d of May, and put in nomination for the Presidency Gen. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and for the Vice-Presidency Gen. William O. Butler, of Kentucky. The Whigs held their convention at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, and put in nomination for the Presidency Gen. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and for the Vice-Presidency Millard Fillmore, of New York.

The result of the election was 163 electoral votes for the Whig ticket and 127 for the Democratic ticket.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

4th of March, 1849—4th of March, 1853.

The 4th of March, 1849, coming on Sunday General Taylor was duly inaugurated as the twelfth President of the United States on the next day, Monday, the 5th of the month, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The new President was a native Virginia, but had removed with his parents to Kentucky at an early age, and had grown up to manhood on the frontiers of that State. His exploits in the Florida war and brilliant victories in Mexico had made him the most popular man in the United States, and had won him the high office of the Presidency at the hands of his grateful fellow-citizens.

He was without political experience, but he was a man of pure and stainless integrity, of great firmness, a sincere patriot and possessed a strong good sense. He had received a majority of the electoral votes of both the Northern and Southern States, and was free from party or sectional ties of any kind.

Upon the organization of the House President Taylor sent in his first and only message. He recognized the danger with which the sectional controversy threatened the country, expressed his views of the situation in moderate terms and intimated that he should faithfully discharge his duties to the whole country.

About the last of June, 1850, President Taylor was stricken down with a fever, which soon terminated fatally. He died on the 9th of July amid the

grief of the whole country, which felt that it had lost a faithful and upright Chief Magistrate. Though the successful candidate of one political party, his administration had received the earnest support of the best men of the country without regard to party, and his death was a national calamity. He



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

had held office only sixteen months, but had shown himself equal to his difficult and delicate position.

By the terms of the Constitution the office of President devolved upon Millard Fillmore, Vice-President of the United States. On the 10th of July he took the oath of office and at once entered upon the duties of his new position.

On the 4th of July, 1851, the cornerstone of the two new wings of the Capitol was laid. Mr. Webster delivered a speech on the occasion which was considered one of the greatest of his life. It was delivered to an immense audience on a platform erected on the east side of the Capitol. In it, among other things, he said:

"If it shall hereafter be the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base—that its foundations shall be upturned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men—be it then known that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that this Constitution still exists unimpaired, and, with all its usefulness and glory, is growing every day



MILLARD FILLMORE.

stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world."

During the fall of this year (1852) another Presidential election took place. The Democratic party nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig party nominated Gen. Winfield Scott, for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The election resulted in the choice of the candidates of the Democratic party by an overwhelming majority.

In October, 1852, the whole country was again thrown into mourning

by the announcement of the death of Mr. Webster, the last survivor of the great Senatorial "trio"—Clay, Calhoun and Webster.

They were regarded as the three greatest statesmen of the country in their day. They were all men of very great ability, of very different characters of mind, as well as styles of oratory. They differed also widely on many questions of public policy. But they were all true patriots in the highest sense of that term.

ADMINISTRATION OF FRANKLIN PIERCE.

4th of March, 1853—4th of March, 1857.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, the four-year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney. tenth President of the United States, was duly inaugurated in the forty-ninth



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

General Pierce was an accomplished orator and his inaugural address was delivered in his happiest style, in a tone of voice that was distinctly heard at a great distance. It was responded to by shouts from the surrounding multitudes.

A third party, called the American, or Know Nothing, took part in the Presidential campaign of 1856, and was based upon the doctrine that the political offices of the country should be held only by persons of American birth.

The Democratic party nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for

the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican nominee for the Presidency was John C. Fremont, of California, and for the Vice-Presidency, William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American or Know Nothing party supported Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the Presidency, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency.

The elections resulted in the triumph of James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes, General Fremont 114 and Fillmore 8.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

March 4th, 1857—March 4th, 1861.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the fifteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and was a statesman of ripe experience. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney. His inaugural was conciliatory and approbatory of the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill upon which he had been elected.

He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and was by profession a lawyer. He had served his State in Congress as a Representative and a Senator, had been Minister to Russia under President Jackson, and had been a member of the Cabinet of President Polk, as Secretary of State. During the four years previous to his election to the Presidency, he had resided abroad as the Minister of the United States to Great Britain, and in that capacity had greatly added to his reputation as a statesman.

On the night of the 16th of October, 1859, John Brown, who had acquired considerable notoriety as the leader of a Free Soil company during the war in Kansas, entered the State of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, with a party of twenty-one men, and seized the United States arsenal at that place. He then sent out parties to induce the negro slaves to join him, his avowed object being to put an end to slavery in Virginia by exciting an insurrection of the slaves. Several citizens were kidnapped by these parties, but the slaves refused to join Brown, or to take any part in the insurrection.

While the excitement was at its height the Presidential campaign opened in the spring of 1860. The slavery question was the chief issue in this struggle.

The Democratic party was divided and nominated two candidates—namely, Stephen A. Douglass, of Illinois, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky.

The Republican convention was held at Chicago, and its candidates were, for President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and for Vice-President, Hannibal

Hamlin, of Maine. The platform of principles adopted by the Republican convention declared that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions * * * That all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

The contest between these parties was bitter beyond all precedent, and re-



JAMES BUCHANAN.

sulted as follows: Popular vote for Lincoln, 1,866,452; popular vote for Douglass, 1,375,157; popular vote for Breckinridge, 847,953, and popular vote for Bell, 590,631. The electoral vote stood as follows: For Lincoln, 180; for Douglass, 72, and for Breckinridge, 51.

Mr. Lincoln was thus elected by the electoral votes of eighteen States. These States were entirely north of the sectional line, and he received not a single electoral vote from a Southern State. The States which cast their elec-

toral votes for Breckinridge and Douglas were entirely slaveholding. The division thus made was alarming. It was the first time in the history of the republic that a President had been elected by the votes of a single section of the Union.

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 4th, 1861—April 15th, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1861. As it was feared that an attempt would be made to prevent the inauguration, the city was held by a strong body of regular troops, under General Scott, and the President-elect was escorted from his hotel to the Capitol by a military force.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The new President was in his fifty-third year, and was a native of Kentucky. When he was but eight years old his father removed to Indiana, and the boyhood of the future President was spent in hard labor upon the farm. Until he reached manhood he continued to lead this life, and during this entire period attended school for only a year. At the age of twenty-one he removed to Illinois, where he began life as a storekeeper.

Being anxious to rise above his humble position, he determined to study

law. He was too poor to buy the necessary books, and so borrowed them from a neighboring lawyer, read them at night and returned them in the morning. His genial character, great good nature and love of humor won him the friendship of the people among whom he resided, and they elected him to the lower house of the Legislature of Illinois.

He now abandoned his mercantile pursuits and began the practice of the law, and was subsequently elected a Representative to Congress from the Springfield district. He took an active part in the politics of his State, and in 1858 was the candidate of the Republican party for United States Senator. In this capacity he engaged in a series of debates in various parts of the State with Senator Douglas, the Democratic candidate for re-election to the same position. This debate was remarkable for its brilliancy and intellectual vigor, and brought him prominently before the whole country, and opened the way to his nomination for the Presidency.

In person he was tall and ungainly, and in manner he was rough and awkward, little versed in the refinements of society. He was a man, however, of great natural vigor of intellect, and was possessed of a fund of strong common sense, which enabled him to see at a glance through the shams by which he was surrounded, and to pursue his own aims with a singleness of heart and directness of purpose. The great Civil War was the all-important event of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

In 1864 the next Presidential election was held. The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore June 7th, and adopted a platform declaring war upon slavery, and demanding that no terms but unconditional surrender should be given to the rebellious States. It nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The Democratic convention met at Chicago August 29th and nominated for the Presidency Gen. George B. McClellan, of the Federal Army, and for the Vice-Presidency, George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. Of the popular vote the Democratic ticket received 1,802,237, against 2,213,665 cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Abraham Lincoln having been duly elected was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1865. On the night of April 14th President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre, in Washington City, by John Wilkes Booth.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

15th of April, 1865—4th of March, 1869.

Upon the death of Mr. Lincoln Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, by the terms of the Constitution, became President of the United States. He took the oath of office on the 15th of April, and at once entered upon the dis-

charge of his duties. His first act was to retain all the members of the Cabinet appointed by Mr. Lincoln.

The restoration of the Southern States to their places in the Union was the most important work of Mr. Johnson's administration.

In the fall of 1868 another Presidential election was held. The Republican party nominated Gen. Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic party nom-



ANDREW JOHNSON.

inated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Presidency, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency.

The election resulted in the choice of General Grant by a popular vote of 2,985,031 to 2,648,830 votes cast for Mr. Seymour. In the Electoral College Grant received 217 votes and Seymour 77. The States of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were not allowed to take part in this election, being still out of the Union.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

4th of March, 1869—4th of March, 1877.

Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington with imposing ceremonies on the 4th of March, 1869. He was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. His father was a tanner, and wished him to follow his trade, but the boy had more ambitious hopes, and at the age of seventeen a friend secured for him an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he was educated. Upon graduating he entered the army.

Two years later he was sent to Mexico, and served through the war with that country with distinction. He was specially noticed by his commanders, and was promoted for gallant conduct. Soon after the close of the war he resigned his commission and remained in civil life until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he volunteered his services and was commissioned by Governor Yates colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Regiment. He was soon made a brigadier-general, and fought his first battle at Belmont. His subsequent career has been related in all histories of the great Civil War.

His Cabinet consisted of Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; John D. Rawlins, of Illinois, who had been his chief of staff from the beginning of the great war until its termination, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General, and Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

The President on the 20th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation announcing that the Fifteenth Amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, and therefore declared it to be part of the Constitution of the United States.

In the fall of 1872 another Presidential election occurred. The canvass was marked by the most intense partisan bitterness. The Republican party renominated General Grant for the Presidency, and supported Henry Wilson for the Vice-Presidency. The measures of the administration had arrayed a large number of Republicans against it. These now organized themselves as the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, for the Presidency, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic party made no nominations, and its convention indorsed the candidates of the Liberal Republican party. The result of the election

by States was 286 electoral votes for Grant, for President; 286 for Wilson, for Vice-President, and 47 for B. Gratz Brown, for Vice-President.

Mr. Greeley having died soon after the election, and before the meeting of the Electoral Colleges, the electoral votes that he carried at the popular election (only 65) were cast in the colleges for a number of persons whose names had never been connected with the office.

On the 4th day of July, 1876, the United States of America completed the one hundredth year of their existence as an independent nation. The day was celebrated with imposing ceremonies and with the most patriotic enthusiasm in all parts of the Union.



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The celebrations began on the night of the 3d of July and were kept up until midnight on the 4th. Each of the great cities of the Union vied with the others in the splendor and completeness of its rejoicings, but the most interesting of all the celebrations was naturally that which was held at Philadelphia, in which city the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

In the summer of 1876 the various political parties met in their respective conventions to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, which officers were to be chosen at the general election in November. The Republican convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, and resulted in the nomination of Gov. Rutherford B. Hayes,

of Ohio, for President of the United States, and of William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President.

The Democratic convention was held at St. Louis on the 27th of June, and nominated Gov. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for the Presidency, and Gov. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency.

The campaign which followed these nominations was one of intense bitterness, and was in many respects the most remarkable the country had ever witnessed. The election was held on the 7th of November and the popular vote was as follows: For Samuel J. Tilden, 4,284,265, and for Rutherford B. Hayes, 4,033,295.

Tilden thus received a popular majority of 250,970 votes over Hayes. Both sides claimed the success of their tickets. In several of the States there were two returns. Three hundred and sixty-nine was the aggregate number of votes of the Electoral College. It required 185 to elect.

The advocates of Tilden and Hendricks maintained that by right they were entitled to the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, which would give them an aggregate of 203 votes, but that if the votes of these three States, amounting to 19, were given to Hayes and Wheeler, Tilden and Hendricks would still have 184 undisputed votes, and that they were clearly entitled to one vote from Oregon, which would give them 185—the requisite majority.

The two Houses of Congress met in joint convention on the 1st of February, 1877, and began the counting of the electoral vote. When the vote of Florida was reached three certificates were presented and were referred to the Electoral Commission. This body, upon hearing the arguments of the counsel of the Democratic and Republican parties, decided that it had no power to go behind the action of the Return Board, and that the certificate of that body giving the vote of that State to Hayes must be accepted by the two Houses of Congress.

The vote by which this decision was reached stood eight (all Republicans) in favor of it, and seven (all Democrats) against it. A similar conclusion was come to in the case of Louisiana. Objections were made to the reception of the votes of Oregon and South Carolina.

In the Oregon case the decision was *unanimously* in favor of counting the votes of the Hayes electors. In the South Carolina case the commission decided that the Democratic electors were not lawfully chosen, but on the motion to give the State to Hayes the vote stood eight yeas and seven nays, so South Carolina was counted for Hayes.

This commission made its final report on all the cases submitted to them on the 2nd of March and, according to their decision, Hayes and Wheeler received 185 votes and Tilden and Hendricks 184 votes.

General Grant, on the expiration of his second term, retired from office, but remained in Washington City, receiving marked demonstrations of the admiration of his friends for some months before starting upon an extensive travel through Europe and around the world.

ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

4th of March, 1877—4th of March, 1881.

Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on Monday, March 5th, 1877. As the 4th of March fell on Sunday, the President-elect simply took the oath of office on that day. The inaugural ceremonies were carried out on the 5th at the Capitol with the usual pomp and parade, and in the presence of an enormous multitude of citizens and visiting military organizations from all parts of the country.

After the customary reception by the Senate, the new President was escorted to the eastern portico of the Capitol, where he delivered his inaugural address to the assembled multitude, after which the oath of office was publicly administered to him by Chief Justice Waite.

President Hayes selected as his Cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Few Presidents were ever so embarrassed upon entering on the duties of the office as he was. At this time the States of South Carolina and Louisiana were in a *quasi* civil war. Two Governors in each were claiming to be entitled to the executive chair. Two Legislatures in each were also claiming to be rightfully entitled to the law-making power. Mr. Hayes displayed the most consummate skill in the conduct and settlement of these most embarrassing questions.

In the summer of 1880 the various political parties of the country met in convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. The Republican convention met in Chicago on the 2nd of June, and nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention met in Cincinnati on the 22nd of June, and nominated Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

The election was held on the 2nd of November and resulted in the choice of Gen. James A. Garfield, who received 214 electoral votes to 155 electoral votes cast for General Hancock.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

The last days of Mr. Hayes' administration were the happiest he spent in the White House. At the close of his term he retired to his residence at Fremont, Ohio, followed by the good will of millions of his fellow-citizens.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

4th of March, 1881—19th of September, 1881.

On Friday, March 4th, 1881, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence, and were participated in by numerous military and civic organizations, and by thousands of citizens from all parts of the country. After the new Vice-President had taken the oath of office, President-elect Garfield was formally received by the Senate and escorted to the eastern portico of the Capitol, where he delivered an able and eloquent inaugural address and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief Justice Waite.

The new President had been long and favorably known to his countrymen. He was in his fiftieth year and in vigorous health. A man of commanding presence, he was dignified and courteous in his demeanor, and deservedly popular with men of all parties.

Born a poor boy, without influential friends, he had by his own efforts secured a thorough collegiate education and had carefully fitted himself for the arduous duties he was now called upon to discharge.

Immediately after his inauguration the names of the new Cabinet were sent to the Senate and were confirmed without opposition. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, was Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of former President Abraham Lincoln, was Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, was Secretary of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, was Secretary of the Interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, was Postmaster-General, and Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, was Attorney-General.

The Cabinet was regarded, generally, as one very judiciously selected, being all men of marked ability, though of somewhat different shades of opinion in the Republican party.

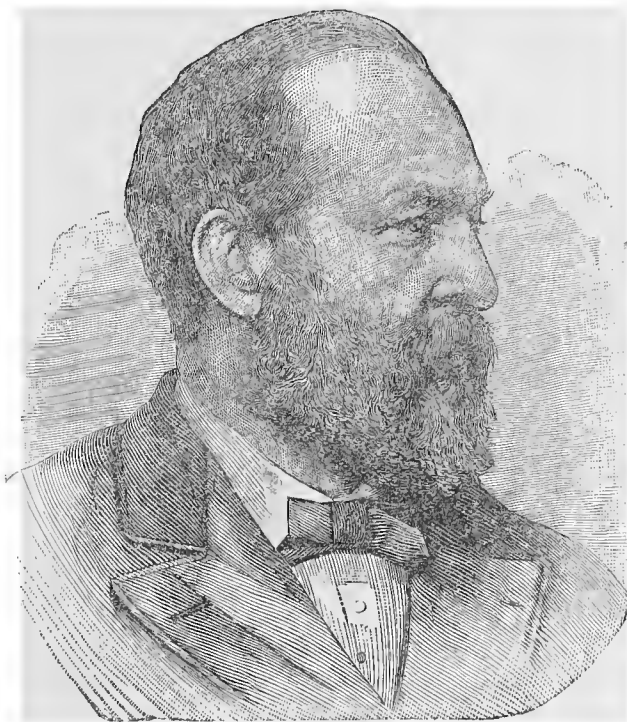
On the morning of July 2nd President Garfield, accompanied by a distinguished party, including several members of the Cabinet, proceeded to the Baltimore and Potomac Depot, in Washington, to take the train for Long Branch. The President arrived in company with Secretary Blaine. They left the President's carriage together and walked arm-in-arm into the depot.

In passing through the ladies' waiting room the President was fired at twice by Charles J. Guiteau. The first shot inflicted a slight wound in the President's right arm and the second a terrible wound in the right side of his back. The President fell heavily to the floor, and the assassin was caught as he was trying to make his escape from the building.

The whole city was thrown into the greatest consternation and agitation when the swift-winged rumor bore the news through every street and avenue

that the President had been assassinated. The wires carried the same consternation throughout the length and breadth of the Union, as well as to foreign nations.

In the meantime the suffering President was borne as soon as possible to the Executive Mansion, where many eminent surgeons of the country were soon summoned to his bedside, but no permanent relief was given. The ball was not found, and he continued to suffer and languish for weeks. His physicians thought it best to remove him to Long Branch.



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

Here he continued to languish, with intervals of hopeful improvement, until he suddenly grew worse on the 18th, and finally expired quietly at 10.35 P. M. on the 19th of September.

His remains were taken to Washington and lay in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, after which they were conveyed to Cleveland, Ohio, and there interred with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies. Never before was there such universal and unfeigned sorrow over the death of any public official.

Mr. Arthur, as advised by Mr. Garfield's Cabinet, immediately took the

oath of office before Judge Brady, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

On the 22nd of September President Arthur again took the oath of office, this time at the hand of the chief justice of the United States, and was inaugurated in the Vice-President's room, in the Capitol at Washington, delivering upon this occasion a brief inaugural address.

President Arthur entered upon the duties of his administration and his first acts were satisfactory to his countrymen.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Immediately upon his accession to the Executive chair Mr. Blaine and his colleagues tendered their resignations. They were requested, however, by the new President to retain their offices until he could find suitable successors. To this they agreed, but before the year was out several important changes had been made in the Cabinet. The principal of these was the substitution of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State.

The execution of C. Guiteau took place in the district jail on the 30th of June, 1882, and was witnessed by about 200 persons, many of whom were representatives of the press.

ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

4th of March, 1885—4th of March, 1889.

The twenty-second President of the United States was Grover Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland was a native of New Jersey and was born in Caldwell, Essex county, March 18th, 1837. He came from sturdy New England stock, many of his ancestors having held honorable positions in their respective localities. Some of them were ministers, of which number was President Cleveland's father. The training in the family was such as to make the boys, of whom



GROVER CLEVELAND.

there were several, upright, self-reliant, acquainted with public affairs and qualified for useful life.

President Cleveland, after teaching two or three years, studied law in Buffalo, was admitted to the bar, became sheriff of the county, and, having received the nomination for Governor of New York, was elected by a large majority. This was followed by his nomination in the Democratic convention of 1884 and his election in the following November.

With very imposing ceremonies Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated at Wash-

ington on the 4th of March, 1885. His inaugural address was a clear, manly and forcible presentation of the duties belonging to his high office, with some suggestions concerning the vital questions of the hour.

President Cleveland's administration was characterized by a conservative policy, a desire to purify official life, a bold and vigorous dealing with the tariff question and a careful guarding of the public treasury. At the close of the third year of his administration the Democratic party naturally looked to him to be their standard-bearer during the ensuing campaign.

ADMINISTRATION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON.

4th of March, 1889—4th of March, 1893.

Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20th, 1833. John Scott Harrison, father of Benjamin, served as a Governor of the North-



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

western Territory, and in this position, as well as in that of member of Congress, rendered good service. He was a farmer and entered public life only at the call of his constituents.

Mr. Harrison was inaugurated March 4th, 1889. His administration was such as to inspire confidence in his ability, honesty of purpose and statesman-like wisdom. With James G. Blaine for Secretary of State, matters at issue between our Government and Great Britain and Italy were handled in a con-

servative manner, and at the same time in a way so positive that no charge of weakness or unpatriotic hesitation could be brought against him.

On public occasions he showed the same felicity of speech which characterized him during the campaign preceding his election, and his course during his term of office was such as to enhance his popularity and gather to his support the substantial, controlling elements of his party.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

4th of March, 1893—4th of March, 1897.

In November, 1892, Mr. Cleveland was elected by a large majority, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1893. There was the usual large gathering at Washington of people from all parts of the country, who were drawn together by the imposing ceremonies of the occasion.

The capital was in gay attire; there was a fine military display; the streets through which the procession passed were lined with crowds of spectators, and among the Democrats there was a jubilant feeling and expressions of congratulation upon the return of Mr. Cleveland to the White House.

Mr. Cleveland's administration was also characterized by a vigorous foreign policy. This was not so evident in the early periods of it as subsequently, when he protested against the encroachments of Great Britain upon territory which the Republic of Venezuela, in South America, claimed as her own by lawful right.

Next came the Cuban question, the party of freedom in that island having risen again in an insurrection which was very formidable and promised to be successful. There were multitudes of sympathizers with struggling Cuba throughout the country, and their sentiment was vigorously expressed by the members of Congress. Resolutions were passed by both Houses granting the rights of belligerents to the Cuban insurgents, but these resolutions were not signed by Mr. Cleveland and consequently failed of their intended effect.

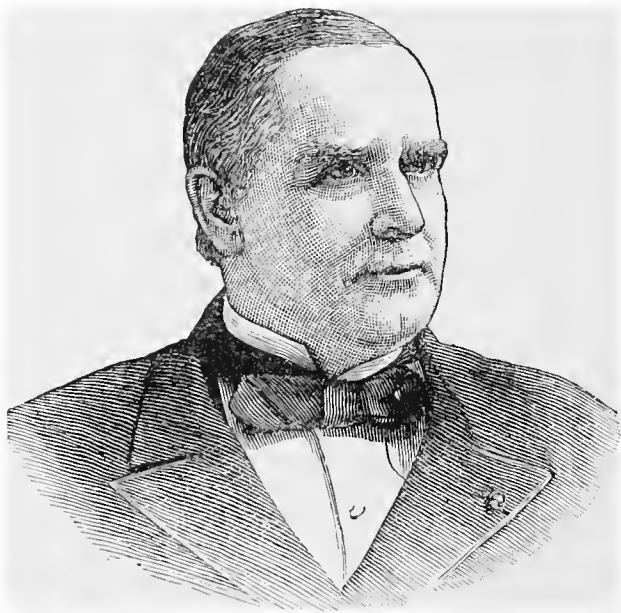
ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM McKINLEY.

4th of March, 1897—4th of March, 1901.

In the election of November, 1896, Mr. McKinley received 7,101,401 of the popular vote; Mr. Bryan, 6,470,656; Mr. Palmer, 132,056, and Mr. Levering, candidate of the Prohibition party, 130,560. Of the Electoral College Mr. McKinley received 271 votes and Mr. Bryan 176.

On the 4th of March, 1897, Mr. McKinley was inaugurated President with imposing ceremonies, and Mr. Hobart was inducted into the office of Vice-President.

An insurrection which broke out in Cuba in February, 1895, led to the landing of a large Spanish army on the island and an attempt to suppress the uprising. In February, 1898, the United States battleship Maine was sent on a friendly mission to the harbor of Havana, and on the 15th of this month was destroyed by a mysterious explosion, resulting in the death of 266 sailors and marines who were on board. The public mind was greatly excited by this event, and it is universally conceded that it had much to do with precipitating the war between the United States and Spain which followed.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

On April 18th both Houses of Congress united in passing a series of resolutions calling for the intervention of the United States to compel Spain to withdraw her forces from Cuba, and thus permit the authorities at Washington to provide the island with a free and independent government. The demand contained in the resolutions was sent to the Spanish Minister at Washington on April 20th, who at once called for his passports and left for Canada.

In the war that followed the Spanish fleets at Manila and Santiago were destroyed and in several land battles the Spaniards were defeated, resulting in peace between the two countries December, 1898. Mr. McKinley was re-elected in 1900 by an overwhelming majority. His death by the hand of an assassin occurred at Buffalo, September 13, 1901.

ADMINISTRATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

14th of September, 1901—4th of March, 1905.

Upon the death of President McKinley Theodore Roosevelt, the Vice-President, by the terms of the Constitution, became President of the United States. He took the oath of office on September 14th and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. He announced that he would continue the policies of his predecessor. He requested the members of the Cabinet to retain their



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

positions. The prominent acts of Roosevelt's administration relate to Cuba, the Philippines, the prosecution of unlawful trusts and also of the men who were accused of fraud in the Postoffice Department.

He was a strong advocate of an isthmian canal and was quick to take advantage of the action of Panama in becoming a republic, thereby enabling the United States to secure a canal route from ocean to ocean.

He advocated reciprocity with Cuba, and this measure was enacted by

Congress. He advocated the celebration of the Louisiana purchase, for which Congress made an appropriation of \$5,000,000 and a loan of \$4,500,000.

His diplomacy secured for our country the respect and good will of foreign nations, and largely through his efforts ample appropriations were made for our navy, to increase the number of ships and keep the remainder in a high state of efficiency.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

4th of March, 1905—4th of March, 1909.

In the presence of a vast concourse of people, including representatives from every State in the Union, Theodore Roosevelt, on the 4th of March, 1905, took the oath of office and was inaugurated President of the United States. Washington was crowded to overflowing with strangers, drawn to the capital to view the inaugural ceremonies. Through the lines formed by cheering, waving thousands, between the men and women who shouted themselves hoarse out of pure delight, the President drove the whole length of Pennsylvania avenue, and, turning to the left, entered the Capitol grounds, where on the east front, was the stand from which he was to deliver his inaugural address, and surrounding it on all sides were the people wedged in so tightly that the place was black, and only the tops of their heads could be seen. At 1 o'clock Chief Justice Fuller administered the oath of office to President Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, John Hay; Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw; Secretary of War, William H. Taft; Attorney-General, William H. Moody; Postmaster-General, George B. Cortelyou; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Morton; Secretary of the Interior, Ethan A. Hitchcock; Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, and Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Victor B. Metcalf.

Theodore Roosevelt was elected President by the largest majority ever given a candidate. As President he displayed great strength, combined with straightforward honesty, and won unbounded popularity both at home and abroad. He is an upholder of the Monroe Doctrine, which he regards as defensive rather than aggressive in purpose. He has lent his influence toward the controlling of the notorious monopolist trusts.

He devoted much of his spare time to literature, among his publications being the Naval History of the War of 1812, Hunting Trips of a Ranchman, the Winning of the West, the Wilderness Hunter, the Rough Riders, Life of Cromwell and the Strenuous Life. In 1909 he went to Africa on a hunting trip. On his return journey in 1910 he received the greatest reception ever

tendered a private citizen by the rulers and people of Europe, and on his arrival in New York he was met by delegations from every State in the Union.

ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

4th of March, 1909—

The twenty-seventh President of the United States was William Howard Taft. Mr. Taft was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. He comes of distinguished ancestors. His father, Alfonso Taft was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of General Grant and later Attorney-General.

The ceremony of the inauguration was accomplished with all due formality, under most unusual conditions, owing to a terrific blizzard which unexpectedly



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

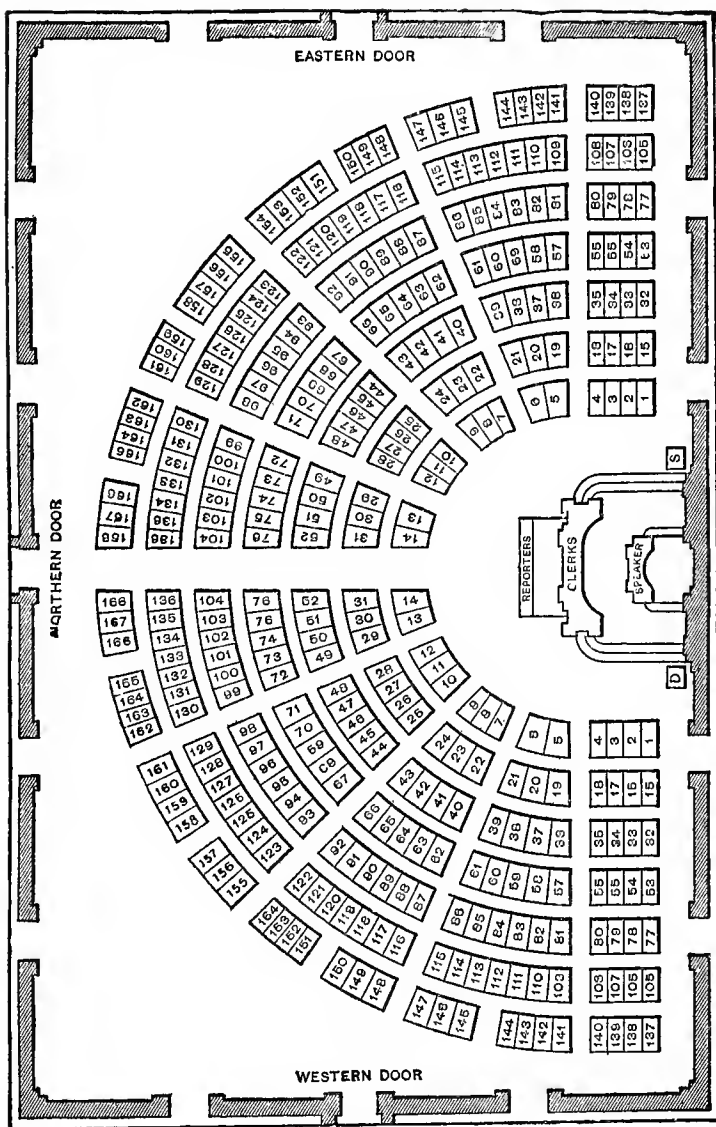
swept over the national capital. Notwithstanding the adverse conditions, all of the main features of the inauguration were accomplished. The main change was in modifying the original program, so that the inaugural address, usually delivered from the east portico of the Capitol, was pronounced by Mr. Taft in the Senate chamber.

In the Republican National Convention held in Chicago June 16th-19th, 1908, Mr. Taft was nominated on the first ballot and received 702 electoral

votes to 68 for Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania; 67 for Charles E. Hughes, of New York; 58 for Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois; 40 for Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; 25 for Robert M. La Follette, of Wisconsin; 16 for Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, and 3 for Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. One delegate from South Carolina did not vote.

President Taft selected as his Cabinet: Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Franklin MacVeagh, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Jacob M. Dickson, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; George W. Wickersham, of New York, Attorney-General; Frank H. Hitchcock, of Massachusetts, Postmaster-General; George Von L. Meyer, of Massachusetts, Secretary of Navy; Richard A. Ballinger, of Washington, Secretary of the Interior; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture; Charles Nagel, of Missouri, Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

In all our history only two or three Presidents have come to the Presidential chair with a preparation as complete or a mastery as visible of the problems of the President—the fruit of experience, action and achievement. Mr. Taft's nomination follows the proven deeds of a life spent in the public service. His speech of acceptance of the nomination, delivered at Cincinnati, July 28th, was judicial in tone. It was a careful, comprehensive and conservative exposition of the issues involved.



PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE.

What It Costs the President to Live.

The official salary of the President is fixed by law at \$50,000 per annum and \$25,000 for expenses, making \$300,000 for his term of four years. At the beginning of each term Congress makes an appropriation for refurnishing the Executive Mansion. The kitchen and pantry are supplied to a considerable extent by the same body.

Congress pays all the employees about the house, from the private secretary to the humblest bootblack; it provides fuel and lights; keeps up the stables, and furnishes a corps of gardeners and a garden to supply the Presidential board with fruits, flowers and vegetables.

THE PRESIDENT'S SALARY.

Many persons suppose the President's salary should enable him to save money. They are mistaken, for the President is required to live in a style consistent with the dignity of his position and the honor of the country, and such a mode of life imposes upon him many very heavy expenses. Besides this, he is expected to be not only liberal but charitable towards persons and meritorious causes seeking his aid, and "their name is legion."

He cannot give as a private individual; his donation must be large. The expense of entertaining the various officers of the Government, members of Congress and foreign ministers is enormous. Two hundred thousand dollars per annum would only be a reasonable allowance for a man in such a position.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISITORS.

Access to the President may be easily had by any person having legitimate business with him, or wishing to pay his respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, but, as His Excellency's time is valuable and much occupied, interviews are limited to the shortest possible duration. Visitors, upon such occasions, repair to the reception room adjoining the President's private office, send in their cards and await His Excellency's pleasure.

Besides granting these private interviews, the President holds public receptions or levees at stated times during the sessions of Congress.

His official title is "Mr. President," but courtesy has added that of "His Excellency." It is worthy of remark that none of the executive officers of the States of the Union, except the Governor of Massachusetts, have any legal claim to the titles "His Excellency" and "Your Excellency."

All sorts of people come to see the President, on all sorts of business. His immense patronage makes him the object of the efforts of many unprincipled men. His integrity is subjected to the severest trials, and if he come out of office poor, as happily all of our Presidents have done, he must indeed be an honest man. His position is not a bed of roses, for he cannot hope to please all parties.

His friends exaggerate his good qualities, and often make him appear ridiculous, while his enemies magnify his faults and errors, and slander and persecute him in every imaginable way. Pitfalls are set for him along every step of his path, and he must be wary indeed if he would not fall into them.

President Buchanan once said that there were at least two persons in the world who could not echo the wish experienced by each American mother—that her son might one day be President—and that they were the retiring and the incoming Presidents, the first of whom was worn and weary with the burden he was laying down, and the other for the first time fully alive to the magnitude of the task he had undertaken.

CABINET MEETINGS.

The Cabinet Ministers in our Government are the secretaries placed at the heads of the various departments. They are the constitutional advisers of the President, but he is not obliged to be governed by their advice. It is customary, however, to lay important matters before them for their opinions thereupon, which are submitted in writing at the request of the President, and for this purpose regular meetings of the Cabinet are held at stated times in a room in the Executive Mansion, provided for that purpose. It is located on the second floor of the mansion and is plainly but comfortably furnished.

The relations existing between the President and his Cabinet are, or ought to be, of the most friendly and confidential nature. They are well set forth in the attitude maintained upon this point by Mr. Lincoln. Says Mr. Raymond, his biographer: "He always maintained that the proper duty of each secretary was to direct the details of everything done within his own department and to tender such suggestions, information and advice to the President as he might solicit at his hands. But the duty and responsibility of deciding what line of policy should be pursued, or what steps should be taken in any specific case, in his judgment, belonged exclusively to the President; and he was always willing and ready to assume it."

The Executive Mansion is situated on Pennsylvania avenue, near the western end of the city, and is surrounded by the Treasury, State, War and Navy Departments. The grounds in front are handsomely ornamented, and in the rear a fine park stretches away to the river.

The location is attractive, and commands a magnificent view of the Potomac, but it is not healthy. Ague and fever prevails in the spring and fall, and renders it anything but a desirable place of residence. The building is constructed of freestone, painter white—hence its most common name, the “White House.” It was designed by James Hoban, and was modeled after the palace of the Duke of Leinster.

The cornerstone was laid on the 13th of October, 1792, and the house was ready for occupancy in the summer of 1800. It was partially destroyed by the British in 1814. It has a front of one hundred and seventy feet and a depth of eight-six feet. It contains two lofty stories of rooms, and the roof is surrounded with a handsome balustrade. The exterior walls are ornamented with fine Ionic pilasters. On the north front is a handsome portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and a projecting screen with three columns. The space between these two rows of pillars is a covered carriage way.

The main entrance to the house is from this portico through a massive doorway, which opens into the main hall. The garden front has a rusticated basement, which gives a third story to the house on this side, and by a semi-circular projecting colonnade of six columns, with two flights of steps leading from the ground to the level of the principal story.

INTERIOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Entering by the main door, the visitor finds himself in a handsome hall, divided midway by a row of imitation marble pillars, and ornamented with portraits of former Presidents. Passing to the left, you enter the magnificent banqueting hall, or, as it is commonly called,

THE EAST ROOM.

which occupies the entire eastern side of the house. It is a beautiful apartment, and is handsomely furnished. It is used during the levees and upon great State occasions. The President sometimes receives here the congratulations and respects of his fellow-citizens, and is subjected to the torture of having his hand squeezed out of shape by his enthusiastic friends. It's a great pity that some one of our Chief Magistrates has not the moral courage to put a stop to this ridiculous practice of hand-shaking.

The East Room is eighty-six feet long, forty feet wide and twenty-eight feet high. It has four fireplaces and is not an easy room to warm. Adjoining the East Room are three others, smaller in size, the whole constituting one of the handsomest suites in the country. The first, adjoining the East Room, is the Green Room, the next the Blue Room and the third the Red Room. Each

is handsomely furnished, the prevailing color of the apartment giving the name.

THE RED ROOM.

is elliptical in form, having a bow in the rear and is one of the handsomest in the house. It is used by the President as a general reception room. He receives here the official visits of the dignitaries of the republic and of foreign ministers. Previous to the completion of the East Room, this apartment was used for all occasions of public ceremony.

The building contains thirty-one rooms of considerable size. West of the Red Room is the large dining room used upon State occasions, and adjoining that is the small dining room ordinarily used by the President and his family. The stairs to the upper story are on the left of the main entrance and are always in charge of the doorkeeper and his assistants, whose business it is to see that no improper characters find access to the private portion of the house.

The north front has six rooms, which are used as chambers by the family of the President, and the south front has seven rooms—the ante-chamber, audience room, Cabinet room, private office of the President, the ladies' parlor and two others, used for various purposes.

THE LADIES' PARLOR.

is situated immediately over the Red Room, and is of the same size and shape. It is for the private use of the ladies of the President's family, and is the handsomest and most tastefully furnished apartment in the house.

There are eleven rooms in the basement, which are used as kitchens, pantries, butler's room, etc. The house is built in the old style and has an air of elegance and comfort extremely pleasing to the eye.

FIRST MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mrs. John Adams came to Washington with her husband in November, 1800, and at once took possession of the Executive Mansion. Her impressions of it are thus described by herself in a letter to her daughter, written soon after her arrival. She says:

"The house is upon a grand and superb scale requiring about thirty servants to attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary.

"The lighting of the apartments, from the kitchen to parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed, and the fires we are obliged to keep to secure us from daily agues is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle

and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience that I know not what to do or how to do.

"The ladies from Georgetown and in the city have many of them visited me. Yesterday I returned fifteen visits. But such a place as Georgetown appears! Why, our Milton is beautiful. But no comparisons, if they put me up bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design *to be pleased*. But, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? * * * We have, indeed, come into a *new country*.

"The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all within-side, except the plastering, has been done since B. came. We have not the *least fence, yard, or convenience without*, and the great unfinished audience room I make a drying room of, to hang up the clothes in. * * * If the twelve years, in which this place has been considered as the future seat of Government, had been improved, as they would have been in New England, very many of the present inconveniences would have been removed. It is a beautiful spot, capable of any improvement, and the more I view it, the more I am delighted with it."

OLD TIMES AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mr. Cooper thus describes a dinner at the White House, to which he was invited, during its occupancy by Mr. Monroe:

"On this occasion we were honored with the presence of Mrs. Monroe and two or three of her female relatives. Crossing the hall, we were admitted to a drawing room, in which most of the company were already assembled. The hour was six. By far the greater part of the guests were men, and perhaps two-thirds were members of Congress. * * * There was very great gravity of mien in most of the company, and neither any very marked exhibition, nor any positively striking want of grace of manner.

"The conversation was commonplace, and a little sombre, though two or three men of the world go around the ladies, where the battle of words was maintained with sufficient spirit. * * * To me the entertainment had rather a cold than a formal air. When dinner was announced the oldest Senator present (there were two, and seniority of service is meant) took Mrs. Monroe and led her to the table. The rest of the party followed without much order. The President took a lady, as usual, and preceded the rest of the guests.

"The drawing room was an apartment of good size, and of just proportions. It might have been about as large as the better sort of Paris salon in a private hotel. It was furnished in a mixed style, partly English and partly

French. * * * It was neat, sufficiently rich, without being at all magnificent, and, on the whole, was very much like a similar apartment in the house of a man of rank and fortune in Europe.

"The dining room was in a better taste than is common here, being quite simple, and but little furnished. The table was large and rather handsome. The service was in china, as is uniformly the case, plate being exceedingly rare, if at all used. There was, however, a rich plateau, and a great abundance of the smaller articles of table-plate. The cloth, napkins, etc., etc., were fine and beautiful.

"The dinner was served in the French style, a little Americanized. The dishes were handed round, though some of the guests, appearing to prefer their own custom, coolly helped themselves to what they found at hand. Of attendants there were a good many. They were neatly dressed, out of livery, and sufficient.

"To conclude, the whole entertainment might have passed for a better sort of European dinner party at which the guests were too numerous for general or very agreeable discourse, and some of them too *new* to be entirely at their ease. Mrs. Monroe arose at the end of the desert and withdrew, attended by two or three of the most gallant of the company.

"No sooner was his wife's back turned than the President reseated himself, inviting his guests to imitate the action. After allowing his guests sufficient time to renew, in a few glasses, the recollections of similar enjoyments of their own, he arose himself, giving the hint to his company, that it was time to re-join the ladies. In the drawing room coffee was served and everybody left the house before nine."

AN OLD-TIME LEVEE.

"On the succeeding Wednesday Mrs. Monroe opened her doors to all the world. No invitation was necessary, it being the usage for the wife of the President to receive company once a fortnight during the session, without distinction of persons.

"We reached the White House at nine. The court (or rather the grounds) was filled with carriages, and the company was arriving in great numbers. On this occasion two or three additional drawing rooms were opened, though the frugality of Congress has prevented them from finishing the principal reception room of the building. I will acknowledge the same sort of surprise I felt at the Castle Garden fete, at finding the assemblage so respectable in air, dress and deportment.

"The evening at the White House, or drawing room, as it is sometimes pleasantly called, is, in fact, a collection of all classes of people, who choose to go to the trouble and expense of appearing in dresses suited to an ordinary

evening party. I am not sure that even dress is much regarded, for I certainly saw a good many there in boots.

"The females were all neatly and properly attired, though few were ornamented with jewelry. Of course, the poor and laboring classes of the community would find little or no pleasure in such a scene. They consequently stay away. The infamous, if known, would not be admitted, for it is a peculiar consequence of the high tone of morals in this country, that grave and notorious offenders rarely presume to violate the public feeling by invading society.*

"Squeezing through the crowd, we achieved a passage to a part of the room where Mrs. Monroe was standing, surrounded by a bevy of female friends. After making our bow here, we sought the President. The latter had posted himself at the top of the room, where he remained most of the evening, shaking hands with all who approached. Near him stood all the secretaries and a great number of the most distinguished men of the nation. Individuals of importance from all parts of the Union were also here, and were employed in the manner usual to such scenes.

"Besides these, one meets here a great variety of people in other conditions of life. I have known a cartman to leave his horse in the street and go into the reception room to shake hands with the President. He offended the good taste of all present because it was not thought decent that a laborer should come in a dirty dress on such an occasion, but, while he made a trifling mistake in this particular, he proved how well he understood the difference between government and society.

"He knew the levee was a sort of homage paid to political equality in the person of the first magistrate, but he would not have presumed to enter the house of the same person as a private individual, without being invited, or without a reasonable excuse in the way of business.

"There are, no doubt, individuals who mistake the character of these assemblies, but the great majority do not. They are a simple, periodical acknowledgment that there is no legal barrier to the advancement of any one to the first association in the Union.

"You perceive, there are no masters of ceremonies, no ushers, no announcements, nor, indeed, any let or hinderance to the ingress of all who please to come; and yet how few, in comparison to the whole number who might enter, do actually appear. If there is any man in Washington so dull as to suppose equality means a right to thrust himself into any company he pleases, it is probable he satisfies himself by boasting that he can go to the White House once a fortnight, as well as a Governor or anybody else."

*** This was over ninety years ago.—*Author.***

The social observances of the White House are prescribed with the utmost exactness. At the commencement of Washington's administration the question of how to regulate such matters was discussed with great earnestness. It was agreed that the exclusive rules by which European courts were governed would not entirely suit the new republic, as there were no titled personages in America, and as the society of our country was organized on a professed basis of equality. Washington caused the following articles to be drawn up:

ETIQUETTE.

"In order to bring the members of society together in the first instance, the custom of the country has established that residents shall pay the first visit to strangers, and, among strangers, first comers to later comers, foreign and domestic; the character of strangers ceasing after the first visit. To this rule there is a single exception. Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the (Cabinet) ministers of the nation, which is returned.

"When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office. All other observations are but exemplifications of these two principles.

"The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all other residents.

"Members of the Legislature and of the judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right, as strangers, to receive the first visit.

"No title being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.

"Differences of grade among the diplomatic members give no precedence.

"At public ceremonies to which the Government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited, and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without any precedence.

"To maintain the principle of quality, or of *pelle mele*, and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the executive will practice at their own houses and recommend an adherence to the ancient usage of the country, of gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another."

These rules were too arbitrary and exacting to give satisfaction and society was not disposed to acknowledge so genuine an equality among its members. For some years disputes and quarrels were frequent and bitter. In the winter of 1819 John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter to Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President, stating that he had been in-

formed that the members of the Senate had agreed among themselves to pay no first visits to any person except the President of the United States. He declared that he repudiated the claim on the part of the Senators, and that he would pay no first calls himself as being due from him or his family.

Mr. Adams was severely criticised for his aristocratic views, and the controversy went on as warmly as before. The result, a few years later, was that all parties interested agreed upon a code, which is now in force, and which may be stated as follows, as far as the White House is concerned:

THE CODE.

The title of the Executive is *Mr. President*. It is not proper to address him in conversation as *Your Excellency*.

The President receives calls upon matters of business at any hour, if he is unengaged. He prefers that such visits should be made in the morning. Stated times are appointed for receiving persons who wish to pay their respects to him. One morning and one evening in each week are usually set apart for this purpose.

During the winter season a public reception, or levee, is held once a week, at which guests are expected to appear in full dress. They are presented by the usher on such occasions, and have the honor of shaking hands with the President. These receptions last from 8 until 10 o'clock.

On the 1st of January of each year the President holds a public reception, at which the foreign ministers present in the city appear in full court dress, and the officers of the army and navy in full uniform. The heads of departments, Governors of States and members of Congress are received first, then the diplomatic corps, then the officers of the army and navy, and then the doors are thrown open to the public generally for the space of two hours.

The President, as such, must not be invited to dinner by any one, and accepts no such invitations, and pays no calls or visits of ceremony. He may visit in his private capacity, however, at pleasure.

An invitation to dine at the White House takes precedence of all others, and a previous engagement must not be pleaded as an excuse for declining it. Such an invitation must be promptly accepted in writing.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTIONS.

The levees held by the President differ in nothing from those of Mr. Monroe's time, described a few pages back, except that the East Room is now finished and the whole magnificent suite of apartments is used. The *elite* of the land are present, but the *infamous* are also there in the persons of those who live by plundering the public treasury.

The President stands in one of the smaller parlors, generally in the Red or Blue Room. He is surrounded by his Cabinet and the most distinguished men in the land. Near him stands his wife, daughter or some relative representing the mistress of the mansion. Visitors enter from the hall and are presented to the President by the usher, who first asks their names, residences and avocations.

The President shakes each one by the hand cordially, utters a few pleasant words in reply to the greeting of his guest and the visitor passes on into the next room, to make way for those behind him. Before doing so, however, he is presented to the lady of the house, to whom he pays his respects also. This regular routine goes on for the space of two hours, when it is brought to an end, the President devoutly thanking Heaven that it does not last all night.

These levees are no doubt very interesting to the guests, but they are the bugbears of the President and his family. The former is obliged by custom to shake hands with every man presented to him, and when the levee is over his right hand is often bruised and swollen. It is said that some of the Presidents have suffered severely from this species of torture, and that General Harrison's death was to some degree hastened by it.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S SISTER ENTERTAINS.

President Arthur being a widower and having no grown-up daughter, his sister, Mrs. McElroy, acted as lady of the White House, and her amiable way of making everybody at home, even at the receptions of the diplomatic corps and distinguished foreigners, will be gratefully remembered by all who have been honored by an invitation.

The semi-annual receptions of the President—New Year's Day and the Fourth of July—are brilliant affairs. At a little before 11 o'clock in the morning the approaches to the Executive Mansion are thronged with the splendid equipages of the various Cabinet officers and foreign ministers.

The entrance at such times is by the main door, and the exit through one of the large north windows of the East Room, in front of which a temporary platform is erected. The customs upon such occasions vary slightly with each administration. In the description given here, the order observed at the reception of the President January 1st, 1884, is followed.

The East Room and the other parlors are handsomely decorated with flowers and other ornaments, the full marine band is in attendance to furnish music for the promenaders in the East Room and a strong police force is present to preserve order when the people are admitted *en masse*.

At a few minutes before 11 o'clock the President and the ladies of the White House, in full dress, take their place in the Blue Room, the President

standing near the door leading into the Red Room, and the ladies in the centre of the Blue Room. The President is attended by either the Commissioner of Public Buildings or the marshal of the District of Columbia, whose duty it is to present the guests to him. A gentleman is also appointed to attend the ladies for the purpose of presenting the guests to them.

Precisely at 11 o'clock the doors are thrown open and the reception begins. The Cabinet ministers and their families are admitted first and after they have passed on into the East Room, through the Green Parlor, the Secretary of State remains and presents the foreign ministers and their families. They are followed by the justices of the Supreme Court and their families. Then come the Senators and Representatives in Congress and their families.

The next in order are the officers of the army, then the officers of the navy and marine corps, in full uniform, and then the officials of the District of Columbia. These personages generally occupy the first hour. The doors are then opened to the public and the next two hours are devoted to receiving them. Several thousand persons are presented during this period. They say a few pleasant words to the President, receive a brief reply and pass on.

PROMENADERS IN THE EAST ROOM.

The promenaders in the East Room often linger in that apartment during the whole reception. The scene is brilliant, the toilettes are magnificent, the uniforms and court dresses attractive and the music fine. At a little after 2 o'clock the parlors are deserted and the gay throng has sought other attractions.

Besides these public levees the ladies of the White House hold receptions at stated periods, to which invitations are regularly issued. The President sometimes appears upon these occasions, but is under no obligations to do so.

During the first two years of the administration of Mr. Lincoln he always selected a lady to join the promenade with him at his evening receptions, thus leaving his wife free to choose an escort from the distinguished throng which always surrounded her on such occasions. This custom did not please Mrs. Lincoln, who resolved to put a stop to it. She declared the practice absurd.

"On such occasions," said she, "our guests recognize the position of the President as first of all; consequently he takes the lead in everything; well, now, if they recognize his position, they should also recognize mine. I am his wife, and should lead with him. And yet he offers his arm to any other lady in the room, making her first with him, and placing me second. The custom is an absurd one, and I mean to abolish it. The dignity that I owe to my position, as Mrs. President, demands that I should not hesitate any longer to act."

The spirited lady kept her word. Ever after this she either led the prom-

enade with the President, or that dignitary walked alone or in company with some gentleman.

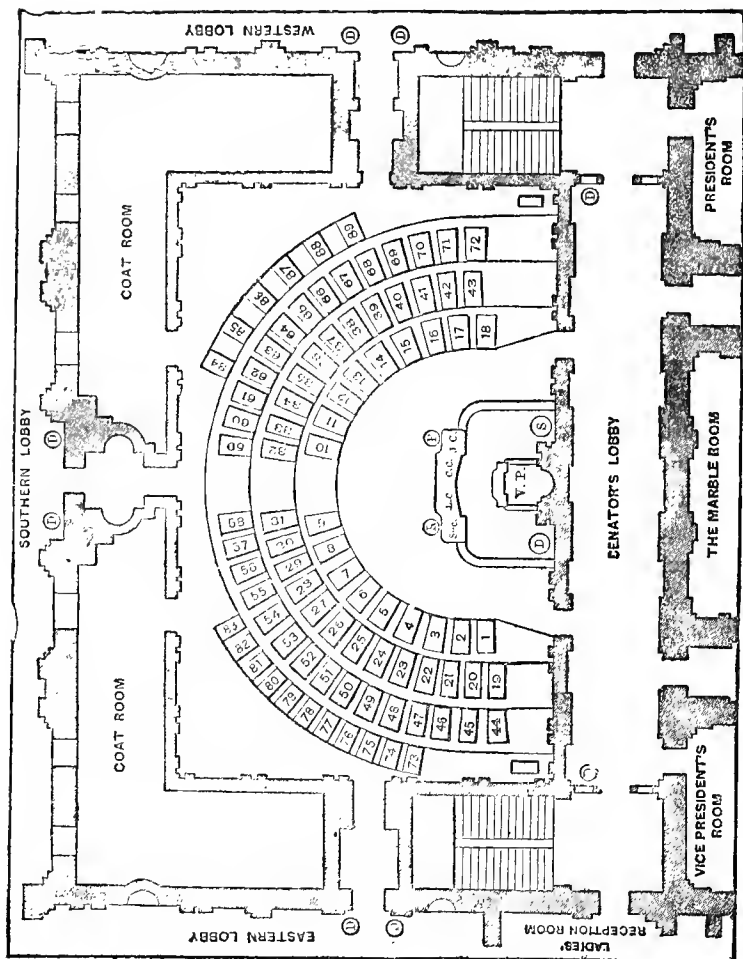
It has long been the custom for the President to give a series of State dinners during the session of Congress, to which the various members of that body, the higher Government officials, and the diplomatic corps are invited. In order to be able to entertain each one of these celebrities it is necessary to give about two dinners a week. The custom was not much observed during Mr. Lincoln's administration, though it has been revived by his successors.

IMPERTINENT GOSSIP.

The President and his family are much annoyed by the impertinent curiosity of which they are the objects. There are scores of persons in Washington, some of whom are doubtless well-meaning people, who are so ignorant of the common decencies of society as to seek to lay bare before the public every incident of the private life of the family at the White House.

The whole city rings with gossip upon this topic, much of which finds its way into the columns of the newspaper press in various parts of the land, to the great annoyance of its victims. There are people who can tell you how the President gets out of bed in the morning, how he dresses, breakfasts, picks his teeth, what he talks about in the privacy of his family and a thousand and one other such private details, until you turn from your informant with the most intense disgust.

It is said that much of this comes from the servants employed in the Executive Mansion, who seem to think it adds to their importance to retail such scandal. Every year this goes on, and every new occupant of the White House is subjected to such persecution.



PLAN OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

From 1876 to the Present Time.

Figures are said to be dry, but figures sometimes have a large meaning. They are the skeleton, and no body would be good for much without the skeleton. It is all a question of figures as to whether a man is a millionaire or a pauper, whether he is elected to the highest office in the gift of the people or suffers inglorious defeat. Figures are mighty; they tell thrilling tales; they rule the world.

The next morning after an exciting election every one wishes to know what figures have to say. The following pages will be no less interesting as records of history. You will find it profitable to study the contests of party and the results of the great campaigns as expressed in these tables. They present the cold, hard facts; they have the force that always goes with statistics. The reader will see that the two great political parties are very evenly matched; neither has an overwhelming advantage over the other in the popular vote.

POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

States.	*1876		†1880			
	Hayes, R.	Tilden, D.	Garfield, R.	Hancock, D.	Weaver, G.	Dow, P.
Alabama	63,708	102,989	56,221	91,185	4,642	.....
Arkansas	38,009	58,071	42,436	60,775	4,079	.....
California	79,279	76,408	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....
Colorado	By Legislature		27,450	24,647	1,435	.....
Connecticut	59,034	61,934	67,071	64,415	868	409
Delaware	10,752	13,381	14,133	15,275	120	.....
Florida	23,849	22,927	23,654	27,904	.....	.....
Georgia	50,440	130,088	54,086	102,470	909	.....
Illinois	278,232	258,601	318,037	277,321	26,358	443
Indiana	208,011	213,520	232,164	225,522	12,986	.....
Iowa	171,326	112,121	183,927	105,845	32,701	592
Kansas	78,322	37,902	121,549	59,801	19,851	25
Kentucky	97,156	159,606	106,306	149,068	11,499	258
Louisiana	75,315	70,508	38,037	65,067	439	.....
Maine	66,300	49,917	74,039	65,171	4,408	93
Maryland	71,981	91,780	78,515	93,706	818	.....
Massachusetts	150,063	108,777	165,205	111,960	4,548	682
Michigan	166,534	141,095	185,341	131,597	34,895	942
Minnesota	72,962	48,799	93,903	53,315	3,267	286
Mississippi	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750	5,797	.....
Missouri	145,029	203,077	153,507	208,609	35,135	.....
Nebraska	31,916	17,554	54,979	28,523	3,950	.....
Nevada	10,383	9,308	8,732	9,613	.....	.....
New Hampshire...	41,539	38,509	44,852	40,794	528	180
New Jersey	103,517	115,962	120,555	122,565	2,617	191
New York	480,207	521,949	555,544	534,511	12,373	1,517
North Carolina ...	108,417	125,427	115,874	124,208	1,126	.....
Ohio	330,668	323,182	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,616
Oregon	15,206	14,149	20,619	19,948	249	.....
Pennsylvania	384,184	366,204	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,939
Rhode Island	15,787	10,712	18,195	10,779	236	20
South Carolina ...	91,870	90,896	58,071	112,312	566	.....
Tennessee	89,566	133,166	107,677	128,191	5,917	43
Texas	44,803	104,803	57,893	156,428	27,405	.....
Vermont	44,428	20,350	45,567	18,316	1,215	.....
Virginia	95,558	139,670	84,020	128,586	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	42,046	56,495	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....
Wisconsin	130,070	123,926	144,400	114,649	7,986	69
Total,	4,033,768	4,285,992	4,454,416	4,444,952	308,578	19,305
Maj. over all		145,911	†9,464			

*1876—Greenback, 81,737; Prohibition, 9,522; American, 539; imperfect and scattering, 14,715. †1880—Greenback, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; imperfect and scattering, 989. ‡Plurality. All over Garfield, 343,115.

*1884

States.	Blaine, R.	Cleveland, D.	Butler, G.	St. John, P.
Alabama	59,591	93,951	873	612
Arkansas	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....
California	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,920
Colorado	36,290	27,723	1,958	761
Connecticut	65,923	67,199	1,688	2,305
Delaware	12,951	16,964	6	55
Florida	28,031	31,766	.....	72
Georgia	48,603	94,667	145	195
Illinois	337,474	312,355	10,910	12,074
Indiana	238,463	244,990	8,293	3,028
Iowa	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472
Kansas	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,495
Kentucky	118,122	152,961	1,691	3,139
Louisiana	46,347	62,540	.....	.....
Maine	72,209	52,140	3,953	2,160
Maryland	85,699	96,932	531	2,794
Massachusetts	146,724	122,481	24,433	10,026
Michigan	192,669	149,835	42,243	18,403
Minnesota	111,923	70,144	3,583	4,684
Mississippi	43,509	76,510	.....	.....
Missouri	202,929	235,988	.....	2,153
Nebraska	76,912	54,391	.....	2,899
Nevada	7,193	5,578	26	.....
New Hampshire	43,249	39,183	552	1,571
New Jersey	123,440	127,798	3,496	6,159
New York	562,005	563,154	16,994	25,016
North Carolina	125,068	142,952	.....	454
Ohio	400,082	368,280	5,179	11,069
Oregon	26,860	24,604	726	492
Pennsylvania	473,804	392,785	16,992	15,283
Rhode Island	19,030	12,391	422	928
South Carolina	21,733	69,890	.....	.....
Tennessee	124,078	133,258	957	1,131
Texas	93,141	225,309	3,321	3,534
Vermont	39,514	17,331	785	1,752
Virginia	139,356	145,497	.....	138
West Virginia	63,096	67,317	810	939
Wisconsin	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656
Total,	4,851,981	4,874,986	175,370	150,369
Plurality	23,005			

* 1884—Blank, defective and scattering, 14,924. In consequence of the uncertainties in the count resulting from the "fusion" formed, the plurality shown for Cleveland must be considered an approximation to the actual result—not a definite result. All, over Cleveland, 317,638.

1888

States.	Cleveland, D.	Harrison, R.	Fisk, P.	Streeter, U. L.
Alabama	117,320	56,197	583	.....
Arkansas	85,962	58,752	641	10,613
California	117,729	124,816	5,761	.....
Colorado	37,567	50,774	2,191	1,266
Connecticut	74,920	74,584	4,234	240
Delaware	16,414	12,973	400	.....
Florida	39,561	26,657	423	.....
Georgia	100,499	40,496	1,808	136
Illinois	348,278	370,473	21,695	7,090
Indiana	261,013	263,361	9,881	2,694
Iowa	179,887	211,598	3,550	9,105
Kansas	103,744	182,934	6,768	37,726
Kentucky	183,800	155,134	5,225	622
Louisiana	85,032	30,484	160	39
Maine	50,481	73,734	2,691	1,344
Maryland	106,168	99,986	4,767	.....
Massachusetts	151,855	183,892	8,701	.....
Michigan	213,459	236,370	20,942	4,542
Minnesota	104,385	142,492	15,311	1,094
Mississippi	85,471	30,096	218	22
Missouri	261,974	236,257	4,539	18,632
Nebraska	80,552	108,425	9,429	4,226
Nevada	5,362	7,229	41	.....
New Hampshire	43,456	45,728	1,593	13
New Jersey	151,493	144,344	7,904	...
New York	635,757	648,759	30,231	626
North Carolina	147,902	134,784	2,787	32
Ohio	396,455	416,054	24,356	3,496
Oregon	26,522	33,291	1,677	363
Pennsylvania	446,633	526,091	20,947	3,873
Rhode Island	17,530	21,968	1,250	18
South Carolina	65,825	13,736	.....	.....
Tennessee	158,779	138,988	5,969	48
Texas	534,883	88,422	4,749	29,459
Vermont	16,788	45,192	1,460	.....
Virginia	151,977	150,438	1,678	.....
West Virginia	79,664	77,791	669	1,064
Wisconsin	155,232	176,553	14,277	8,552
Total,	5,540,329	5,439,853	249,506	146,935

Cleveland's majority on popular vote over Harrison was 100,476. Electoral vote: Harrison, 233; Cleveland, 168.

1892

	Harrison, Rep.	Cleveland, Dem.	Bidwell, Pro.	Weaver, Peo.
Alabama	9,197	138,138	239	85,181
Arkansas	46,974	87,752	113	11,831
California	117,618	117,908	8,187	25,226
Colorado	38,620	.....	1,687	53,584
Connecticut	77,032	82,395	4,026	809
Delaware	18,077	18,581	564	.....
Florida .....	.....	30,143	570	4,843
Georgia	48,305	129,386	988	42,939
Idaho	8,799	.....	219	10,430
Illinois	399,288	426,281	25,870	22,207
Indiana	255,615	262,740	13,044	22,198
Iowa	219,373	196,408	6,322	20,616
Kansas	157,241	.....	4,553	163,111
Kentucky	135,420	175,424	6,385	23,503
Louisiana	25,332	87,922	.....	1,232
Maine	62,878	48,024	3,062	2,045
Maryland	92,736	113,866	5,877	796
Massachusetts	202,814	176,813	7,539	3,210
Michigan	222,708	202,296	20,569	19,792
Minnesota	122,736	100,579	14,017	30,398
Mississippi	1,406	40,237	910	10,256
Missouri	226,762	268,628	4,298	41,183
Montana	18,833	17,534	517	7,259
Nebraska	87,218	24,943	4,902	83,134
Nevada	2,822	711	85	7,267
New Hampshire	45,658	42,081	1,297	293
New Jersey	156,080	171,066	8,134	985
New York	609,459	654,908	38,193	16,430
North Carolina	100,346	132,951	2,636	44,732
North Dakota	17,486	.....	.....	17,650
Ohio	405,187	404,115	26,012	14,852
Oregon	35,002	14,243	2,281	26,965
Pennsylvania	516,011	452,264	25,123	8,714
Rhode Island	27,069	24,335	1,565	227
South Carolina	13,384	54,698	.....	2,410
South Dakota	34,888	9,081	.....	26,512
Tennessee	99,973	136,477	4,856	23,622
Texas	81,444	239,148	2,165	99,638
Vermont	37,992	16,325	1,424	43
Virginia	113,256	163,977	2,798	12,274
Washington	36,470	29,844	2,553	19,105
West Virginia	80,285	83,484	2,130	4,165
Wisconsin	170,761	177,436	13,132	9,909
Wyoming	8,376	.....	526	526
Total,	5,186,931	5,553,142	268,361	1,030,128
Per cent.	42.93	45.96	2.22	8.52

Total vote, 12,081,316. Cleveland's majority on popular vote over Harrison was 366,211. All over Cleveland, 932,278.

1896

States.	McKinley.	Bryan.	Palmer.	Levering.
Alabama	54,737	131,219	6,464	2,147
Arkansas	37,512	110,103	893	889
California	146,588	144,166	.....	2,573
Colorado	26,271	161,269	.....	1,717
Connecticut	110,297	56,740	4,336	1,806
Delaware	20,452	16,615	956	602
Florida	11,389	32,213	1,778	868
Georgia	20,191	94,232	2,708	.....
Idaho	6,324	23,192	.....	181
Illinois	607,130	466,703	6,390	9,796
Indiana	323,719	305,771	2,146	3,056
Iowa	289,293	223,741	4,519	3,192
Kansas	158,541	171,810	1,209	2,351
Kentucky	218,171	217,890	5,114	4,781
Louisiana	22,012	77,096	1,810	.....
Maine	80,421	34,504	1,864	1,571
Maryland	136,978	104,745	2,507	5,928
Massachusetts	279,976	105,711	11,749	2,998
Michigan	293,327	237,251	6,930	4,968
Minnesota	193,501	139,626	3,202	4,343
Mississippi	4,730	63,457	1,021	390
Missouri	304,940	363,652	2,355	3,169
Montana	10,490	43,680	.....	.....
Nebraska	101,064	115,999	2,797	1,196
Nevada	1,939	8,377	.....	.....
New Hampshire	57,444	21,650	3,420	776
New Jersey	221,367	113,675	6,373	5,614
New York	819,838	551,513	18,972	16,075
North Carolina	155,222	174,488	578	635
North Dakota	26,336	20,689	.....	356
Ohio	527,945	478,547	1,831	5,060
Oregon	48,711	46,739	974	789
Pennsylvania	728,300	427,127	11,000	19,274
Rhode Island	37,437	14,495	1,166	1,160
South Carolina	9,313	58,101	824	.....
South Dakota	40,802	40,930	.....	992
Tennessee	148,773	168,176	1,951	3,098
Texas	164,886	368,299	5,030	185
Utah	13,861	67,053	.....	.....
Vermont	50,991	10,607	1,329	728
Virginia	135,388	154,985	2,127	2,341
Washington	39,153	51,646	1,668	968
West Virginia	104,414	92,927	677	1,203
Wisconsin	269,135	165,528	4,584	7,509
Wyoming	10,072	10,855	.....	159
Total,	7,107,980	6,509,056	132,056	127,174

McKinley's plurality, 598,924. The vote for Bryan and Sewall and that for Bryan and Watson are combined.

1900

States.	Bryan.	McKinley.	Woolley.	Debs.
Alabama	97,131	55,512	2,762	.....
Arkansas	81,142	44,800	584	.....
California	124,985	164,755	5,024	7,554
Colorado	122,733	93,072	3,790	654
Connecticut	73,997	102,567	1,617	1,029
Delaware	18,858	22,529	538	57
Florida	28,007	7,314	1,039	601
Georgia	81,700	35,935	1,396	.....
Idaho	29,414	26,997	857	.....
Illinois	503,031	597,985	17,623	9,687
Indiana	309,584	336,063	13,718	2,374
Iowa	209,179	307,785	9,479	2,778
Kansas	162,601	185,955	3,605	1,605
Kentucky	235,103	227,128	3,780	646
Louisiana	53,671	14,233	.....	.....
Maine	36,822	65,435	2,585	878
Maryland	122,271	136,212	4,582	908
Massachusetts	156,997	238,866	6,202	9,607
Michigan	211,685	316,269	11,859	2,826
Minnesota	112,901	190,461	8,555	3,065
Mississippi	51,706	5,753	.....	.....
Missouri	351,922	314,092	5,965	6,139
Montana	37,146	25,373	298	708
Nebraska	114,013	121,835	3,655	823
Nevada	6,347	3,849	.....	.....
New Hampshire	35,489	54,803	1,270	720
New Jersey	164,808	221,707	7,183	4,609
New York	678,386	821,992	22,043	12,869
North Carolina	157,752	133,081	1,006	.....
North Dakota	20,519	35,891	731	518
Ohio	474,882	543,918	10,203	4,847
Oregon	33,385	46,526	2,536	1,466
Pennsylvania	424,232	712,665	27,908	4,831
Rhode Island	19,812	33,784	1,529	.....
South Carolina	47,236	3,597	.....	.....
South Dakota	39,544	54,530	1,542	176
Tennessee	144,751	121,194	3,900	410
Texas	267,337	121,173	2,644	1,841
Utah	45,006	47,139	209	720
Vermont	12,849	42,568	368	.....
Virginia	146,080	115,865	2,150	.....
Washington	44,833	57,456	2,363	2,006
West Virginia	98,807	119,829	1,692	268
Wisconsin	159,285	265,866	10,124	524
Wyoming	10,164	14,482	.....	.....
Total,	6,358,133	7,207,923	208,914	87,814
Popular vote, McKinley over Bryan				849,790
Electoral vote, McKinley over Bryan				137

States.	1904		1908	
	Roosevelt.	Parker.	Taft.	Bryan.
Alabama	22,472	79,857	26,283	74,374
Arkansas	46,800	64,434	56,679	87,015
California	205,226	89,294	214,398	127,492
Colorado	134,687	100,105	123,700	126,644
Connecticut	111,089	72,909	112,815	68,255
Delaware	23,712	19,347	25,007	22,072
Florida	8,314	27,046	10,654	31,104
Georgia	24,003	83,472	41,092	72,350
Idaho	47,783	18,480	52,621	36,162
Illinois	632,645	327,606	629,932	450,810
Indiana	368,289	274,345	348,993	338,262
Iowa	307,907	149,141	275,210	200,771
Kansas	210,893	84,800	197,216	161,209
Kentucky	205,277	217,170	235,711	244,092
Louisiana	5,205	47,708	8,958	63,568
Maine	64,438	27,648	66,987	35,403
Maryland	109,497	109,446	116,513	115,908
Massachusetts	257,822	165,746	265,966	155,543
Michigan	361,866	134,151	333,313	174,313
Minnesota	216,651	55,187	195,843	109,401
Mississippi	3,189	53,376	4,363	58,286
Missouri	321,449	296,312	347,203	346,574
Montana	34,932	21,773	32,333	29,326
Nebraska	138,558	51,876	126,997	131,099
Nevada	6,867	3,982	10,775	11,212
New Hampshire	54,177	33,992	53,144	33,655
New Jersey	245,164	164,566	265,326	182,567
New York	859,533	683,981	870,070	667,468
North Carolina	82,442	124,121	114,887	136,928
North Dakota	52,595	14,273	57,680	32,885
Ohio	600,995	344,674	572,312	502,721
Oklahoma .....	.....	.....	110,558	122,406
Oregon	60,432	17,444	62,530	38,049
Pennsylvania	840,949	335,430	745,779	448,785
Rhode Island	41,605	24,839	43,942	24,706
South Carolina	2,254	54,635	3,963	62,288
South Dakota	72,083	21,969	67,466	40,266
Tennessee	105,369	131,653	118,324	135,608
Texas	51,242	167,200	65,666	217,302
Utah	62,444	33,413	61,015	42,601
Vermont	40,459	9,777	39,558	11,500
Virginia	46,450	80,638	52,573	82,946
Washington	101,540	28,098	106,062	58,691
West Virginia	132,608	100,850	137,869	111,418
Wisconsin	279,870	124,036	247,747	166,632
Wyoming	20,467	8,904	20,846	14,918
Totals,	7,621,407	5,079,704	7,677,479	6,405,585
Pluralities	2,541,703	.....	1,271,894	

CHAPTER XX

ROOSEVELT'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

EIGHT GENERATIONS OF KNICKERBOCKERS — QUALITY OF THE ROOSEVELT STOCK—A PALE AND DELICATE BOY—FISHING ON A STEAMSHIP—PREPARING FOR COLLEGE—AMUSING INCIDENT AT THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL — FOND OF WRESTLING AND BOXING—CAREER AT HARVARD—AN ORIGINAL CHARACTER—PARTIALITY FOR NATURAL HISTORY—MEMBER OF MANY CLUBS—HIS IDEA OF A GOOD CITIZEN—ROOSEVELT'S GRADUATION AND TRIP TO EUROPE.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was born in New York city on October 27, 1858, and comes from a family that for generations has been noted for wealth, social position, high intelligence, disinterested public spirit, general usefulness and philanthropy. The list of his ancestors includes many who were distinguished in public life, and were honored for their sterling qualities.

He is a Knickerbocker of the Knickerbockers, being seventh in descent from Klaas Martensen van Roosevelt, who, with his wife, Jannetje Samuels-Thomas, emigrated from the Netherlands to New Amsterdam in 1649, and became one of the most prominent and prosperous burghers of that settlement. For two and a half centuries the descendants of this couple have flourished in and near the city of New York, maintaining unimpaired the high social standing assumed at the beginning, and by thrift, industry and enterprise adding materially to the wealth acquired by inheritance. With the special opportunities for distinction afforded by the Revolution, a number of them came into marked prominence.

Just previous to that struggle, and during its earlier years, Isaac Roosevelt was a member of the New York Provincial Congress. Later he sat in the State Legislature, and for several years was a member of the New York City Council. For quite a long period he was President of the Bank of New York. Jacobus

J. Roosevelt, great-grandfather of the subject of this sketch, who was born in 1759, gave his services without compensation as commissary during the War for Independence. A brother of this Revolutionary patriot, Nicolas J. Roosevelt, born in New York city in 1767, was an inventor of ability, and an associate of Robert L. Livingston, John Stevens and Robert Fulton in developing the steamboat and steam navigation.

The grandfather of Governor Roosevelt, Cornelius van Shaick Roosevelt, born in New York city in 1794, was an importer of hardware and plate glass, and one of the five richest men in the town. He was one of the founders of the Chemical Bank. One of his brothers, James J. Roosevelt, was a warm friend and ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson; served in the New York Legislature and in Congress, and was a Justice of the Supreme Court of New York from 1851 to 1859.

A DISTINGUISHED FAMILY.

A cousin, James Henry Roosevelt, was distinguished for his philanthropies, and left an estate of a million dollars, which, by good management, was doubled in value, to found the famous Roosevelt Hospital in New York city. Cornelius V. S. Roosevelt married Mary Barnhill, of Philadelphia. Of their six sons the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt was one of New York's most distinguished citizens, served in Congress and also as a United States Minister to the Netherlands.

Theodore, another son, born in New York city, and deceased in 1878, was the father of President Theodore Roosevelt. He married Martha Bulloch, who, with four of their children, survived him. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., continued in the business founded by his father, and became a controlling factor in the plate glass trade. He greatly augmented the family fortune, and at his death was reputed a millionaire.

Thus President Roosevelt comes from a distinguished family. Good stock may turn out to be poor sometimes, but it makes a vast difference as to the kind of blood a man has in his veins, and good stock is much more likely to turn out well than stock of the

opposite kind. It meant something to be a Roosevelt. More was expected of every member of the family than would have been expected of anyone with a name less honorable. It was some advantage, and at the same time it involved a good deal of responsibility, to be connected by blood and birth with an old Knickerbocker family that had helped for generations to make the history of New York.

It was the Roosevelt idea that a boy should be taught to run alone, be independent, be something more than a pampered weakling. Money was intended to help a young man, not to handicap him. Young Theodore might have lived on his fortune and made his life one of sport and pleasure, but to do this he would have had to be something besides a Roosevelt. Such an aimless, empty, worthless career would have been contrary to all the Roosevelt family history and achievements. There is no good reason why the self-made men should all be poor. It is possible to become great in spite of money.

HIS APPEARANCE WHEN A BOY.

Mr. Ray S. Baker, in a sketch of Mr. Roosevelt, says this of his boyhood: "As a young boy he was thin-shanked, pale and delicate, giving little promise of the amazing vigor of his later life. To avoid the rough treatment of the public school, he was tutored at home, also attending a private school for a time—Cutler's, one of the most famous of its day. Most of his summers, and in fact two-thirds of the year, he spent at the Roosevelt farm near Oyster Bay, then almost as distant in time from New York as the Adirondacks now are. For many years he was slow to learn and not strong enough to join in the play of other boys; but as he grew older he saw that if he ever amounted to anything he must acquire vigor of body. With characteristic energy he set about developing himself. He swam, he rode, he ran; he tramped the hills back of the bay, for pastime studying and cataloguing the birds native to his neighborhood; and thus he laid the foundation of that incomparable physical vigor from which rose his future prowess as a ranchman and hunter."

At the age of eleven years, young Roosevelt made a voyage across the Atlantic with his father. A boyhood friend, by name George Cromwell, tells several amusing incidents of the European voyage. It was a great event in 1869 to cross the Atlantic, particularly for youngsters, all of them under eleven years of age.

"As I remember Theodore," recalls Mr. Cromwell, "he was a tall, thin lad, with bright eyes and legs like pipe-stems.

"One of the first things I remember about him on that voyage was, that after the ship had got out of sight of land he remarked, half to himself, as he glanced at the water, 'I guess there ought to be a good many fish here.' Then an idea suddenly struck him, and turning to me he said: 'George, go get me a small rope from somewhere, and we'll play a fishing game.' I don't know why I went at once in search of that line, without asking why he didn't go himself; but I went, and it never occurred to me to put the question. He had told me to go, and in such a determined way that it settled the matter.

A MASTERLY LEADER FROM BOYHOOD.

"Even then he was a leader—a masterful, commanding little fellow—who seemed to have a peculiar quality of his own of making his playmates obey him, not at all because we were afraid, but because we wanted to, and somehow felt sure we would have a good time and get lots of fun if we did as he said.

"Well, I went after the line and brought it to him. While I was gone on the errand he had thought out all the details of the fishing game, and had climbed on top of a coiled cable; for, of course, he was to be the fisherman.

"Now," he said, as I handed him the line, 'all you fellows lie down flat on the deck here, and make believe to swim around like fishes. I'll throw one end of the line down to you, and the first fellow that catches hold of it is a fish that has bit my hook. He must just pull as hard as he can, and if he pulls me down off this coil of rope, why, then he will be the fisherman and I will be a fish. But if he lets go, or if I pull him up here off the deck, why I will still be the fisherman. The game is to see how

many fish each of us can land up here. The one who catches the most fish wins.'

"The rest of us lay down flat on our stomachs," Mr. Cromwell says, in continuation of his narrative, "and made believe to swim ; and Theodore, standing above us on the coiled cable, threw down one end of his line—a thin but strong rope. If I remember correctly, my brother was the first fish to grasp the line—and then commenced a mighty struggle. It seemed to be much easier for the fish to pull the fisherman down than for the fisherman to haul up the dead weight of a pretty heavy boy lying flat on the deck below him—and I tell you it was a pretty hard struggle. My brother held on to the line with both hands and wrapped his legs around it, grapevine fashion. Theodore braced his feet on the coiled cable, stiffened his back, shut his teeth hard, and wound his end of the line around his waist. At first he tried by sheer muscle to pull the fish up—but he soon found it was hard work to lift up a boy about as heavy as himself.

THE FISH CAUGHT BY STRATEGY.

"Then another bright idea struck him. He pulled less and less, and at last ceased trying to pull at all. Of course the fish thought the fisherman was tired out, and he commenced to pull, hoping to get Theodore down on deck. He didn't succeed at first, and pulled all the harder. He rolled over on his back, then on his side, then sat up, all the time pulling and twisting and yanking at the line in every possible way; and that was just what Theodore hoped the fish would do. You see, all this time, while my brother was using his strength, Theodore simply stood still, braced like steel, and let him tire himself out.

"Before very long the fish was so out of breath that he couldn't pull any longer. Besides, the thin rope had cut his hands and made them sore. Then the fisherman commenced slowly and steadily to pull on the line, and in a very few minutes he had my brother hauled up alongside of him on the coil of cable."

The elder Roosevelt was a firm believer in hard work, and made this a part of the science he knew so well—the science of

bringing up a boy. Although a man of wealth and position he taught his children—the four of them, two boys and two girls—the virtue of labor, and pointed with the finger of scorn to the despicable thing called man who lived in idleness. With such teachings at home, it is no wonder that Theodore was moved to declare:

“I was determined as a boy to make a man of myself.”

His vacation days and little outing excursions to the farms of his uncles gave the boy a fondness for country life, which found appreciation in later years in these words:

“I belong as much to the country as to the city, I owe all my vigor to the country.”

RESOLVED TO MAKE SOMETHING OF HIMSELF.

In New York he was an example of the strong-spirited, well-educated young Knickerbocker of the better class. “He had no need to work,” says a writer in McClure’s. “His income was ample to keep him in comfort, even luxury, all his life. He might spend his summers in Newport and his winters on the continent, and possibly win some fame as an amateur athlete and a society man; and no one would think of blaming him, nor of asking more than he gave.”

Such a life, however, was not according to his taste or the high ideal of manhood and splendid achievement he had placed before him. He was not a dreamer, not a builder of air-castles. Better than the moderate wealth he had inherited were the family traits, the strong common sense, the noble purposes and true ideas of worldly success, which were as much a part of him as his fondness for fun and athletic sports. Let every American boy remember Mr. Roosevelt’s saying that in early life he resolved to make something of himself.

He attended a preparatory school, in order to fit himself for entering Harvard College. It was customary with the teacher in this school to call on the boys for declamations. Theodore at that early period lacked many of the graces of oratory, which he seems to have acquired afterward; and, like most boys, when he was the victim of embarrassment his memory was more or less treacherous.

ROOSEVELT'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

Upon one occasion he was called upon to recite the poem beginning :

"At midnight, in his guarded tent
The Turk lay dreaming of the hour
When Greece, her knee in suppliance bent,
Would tremble at his power."

Theodore arose and started out bravely. With all the flourishes of boyish energy he repeated the lines as far as "When Greece, her knee——" and then he stopped.

He stammered, shuffled his feet, and began again : " When Greece, her knee——" The old schoolmaster leaned forward, and in a shrill voice said : " Grease 'em again, Teddy, and maybe it will go then." And Teddy, with his usual pluck, tried it again with marked success.

" What strong direction did your home influence take in your boyhood ? " was asked Mr. Roosevelt.

" Why," he replied, " I was brought up with the constant injunction to be active and industrious. My father—all my people—held that no one had a right to merely cumber the earth ; that the most contemptible of created beings is the man who does nothing. I imbibed the idea that I must work hard, whether at making money or whatever else.

TAUGHT THAT HE MUST BE A WORKER.

" The whole family training taught me that I must be doing, must be working—and at decent work. I made my health what it is. I determined to be strong and well, and did everything to make myself so. By the time I entered Harvard College I was able to take my part in whatever sports I liked. I wrestled and sparred and ran a great deal while in college, and though I never came in first I got more good of the exercise than those who did, because I immensely enjoyed it and never injured myself.

" I was fond of wrestling and boxing ; I think I was a good deal of a wrestler, and, though I never won a championship, yet more than once I won my trial heats and got into the final round. I was captain of my polo team at one time, but since I left college

I have taken most of my exercise in the 'cow country' or mountain hunting."

Theodore Roosevelt is the third graduate of Harvard University to hold the highest honor in the gift of the American people. John Adams and John Quincy Adams were graduated from Harvard. It was in 1825 when J. Q. Adams became President. Now comes Roosevelt. Roosevelt entered Harvard in 1876, when he was eighteen years old. His work in college was characterized by the enthusiasm and earnestness which have become known to all the people as dominant traits of his character in public life.

When he came to the Cambridge college he was a slight lad and not in robust health, but he at once took a judicious and regular interest in athletics, and in a little while the effects were apparent in his stalwart figure and redoubled energy. He wrestled and sparred and ran a great deal, but never indulging in athletic work to the point of injury.

EARNEST AND MATURE STUDENT.

In his studies young Roosevelt was looked upon "as peculiarly earnest and mature in the way he took hold of things," as one of his classmates put it. Ex-Mayor Josiah Quincy, of Boston, who was in college with Roosevelt, says of him:

"He exhibited in his college days most of the traits of character which he has shown in after years and on the larger stage of political life. In appearance and manner he has changed remarkably little in twenty years, and I should say that his leading characteristic in college was the very quality of strenuousness which is now so associated with his public character. In whatever he did he showed unusual energy, and the same aggressive earnestness which has carried so far in later life.

"He exhibited a maturity of character, if not of intellectual development, greater than that of most of his classmates, and was looked upon as one of the notable members of the class—as one who possessed certain qualities of leadership and of popularity which might carry him far in the days to come, if not counter-

balanced by impulsiveness in action or obstinacy in adhering to his own ideas. He was certainly regarded as a man of unusually good fighting qualities, of determination, pluck and tenacity.

"If his classmates had been asked in their senior year to pick out the one member of the class who would be best adapted for such a service which he rendered with the Rough Riders in Cuba I think that, almost with one voice, they would have named Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt is in many respects as broad and typical an American as the country has produced."

ORIGINAL AND SELF-RELIANT.

Both his fellows and his teachers say that he was much above the average as a student. He was just as original, just as reliant on his own judgment as he is now. In a mere matter of opinion or of dogma he had no respect for an instructor's say-so above his own convictions, and some of his contemporaries in college recall with smiles some very strenuous discussions with teachers in which he was involved by his habit of defending his own convictions.

At graduation he was one of the comparatively few who took honors, his subject being natural history. When young Roosevelt entered college he developed the taste for hunting and natural history which has since led him so often and so far through field and forest. His rifle and his hunting kit were the most conspicuous things in his room. His birds he mounted himself.

Live turtles and insects were always to be found in his study, and one who lived in the house with him at the time recalls well the excitement caused by a particularly large turtle sent by a friend from the southern seas, which got out of its box one night and started for the bathroom in search for water. Although well toward the top as a student he still had his full share of the gay rout that whiles dull care away. In his sophomore year he was one of the forty men in his class who belong to the Institute of 1770.

In his senior year he was a member of the Porcelain, the Alpha Delta Phi, and the Hasty Pudding Clubs, being secretary of the last named. In the society of Boston he was often seen.

Roosevelt's membership in clubs other than social shows

conspicuously the kind of college man he was. In rowing, base-ball and foot-ball he was an earnest champion, but never a prominent participant. In the other athletic contests he was often seen. It was as a boxer that he excelled. Boxing was a regular feature of the Harvard contests of that day, and "Teddy," as he was universally called, was the winner of many a bout.

He had his share in college journalism. During his senior year he was one of the editors of the "Advocate." Unlike the other editors, he was not himself a frequent contributor.

The range of his interests is shown by this enumeration of clubs in which he had membership. The Natural History Society, of which he was vice-president; the Art Club, of which Professor Charles Eliot Norton was the president; the Finance Club, the Glee Club (associate member), the Harvard Rifle Corps, the O. K. Society, of which he was treasurer, and the Harvard Athletic Association, of which he was steward.

HIS APPEARANCE AT GRADUATION.

Roosevelt's share of class-day honors was membership in the class committee. All who knew Roosevelt in his college days speak of him as dashing and picturesque in his ways and handsome appearance. His photograph, taken at graduation, shows no moustache, but a rather generous allowance of side whiskers.

Although he was near-sighted, and wore glasses at the time, they do not appear in the photograph. Maturity and sobriety are the most evident characteristics of the countenance. A companion of student days tells a story to show that the future President did things then much as he does there now. A horse in a stable close to Roosevelt's room made a sudden noise one night which demanded instant attention. Young Roosevelt was in bed at the time, but he waited not for daytime clothes—nor did he even wait to get down the steps. He bounded out the second-story window, and had quieted the row before the less impetuous neighbors arrived.

It was while in college that he conceived the idea of his history of the American Navy in the War of 1812. This volume

was written soon after leaving college. He was not yet twenty-four when it was completed. In view of the position which the author afterward held, next to the head of the American Navy, the preface, written before the beginning of our present navy, is of striking interest. He says: "At present people are beginning to realize that it is folly for the great English-speaking republic to rely for defense upon a navy composed partly of antiquated hulks and partly of new vessels rather more worthless than the old."

IDEAS OF PUBLIC LIFE AND CITIZENSHIP.

Mr. Roosevelt's ideas of college education, and the results thereof in the making of good citizens, are well defined in his admirable essay on "College and Public Life," written for the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which he says: "The first great question which the college graduate should learn, is the lesson of work rather than of criticism. College men must learn to be as practical in politics as they would be in business or in law. A college man is peculiarly bound to keep a high ideal and to be true to it; but he must work in practical ways to try to realize this ideal, and must not refuse to do anything because he cannot get anything. No man ever learned from books how to manage a governmental system." Yet he never disparaged book knowledge.

He says further:

"This obligation (of being good, active citizens) possibly rests even more heavily upon men of means; of this it is not necessary now to speak. The men of mere wealth never can have, and never should have, the capacity for doing good work that is possessed by the men of exceptional mental training; but that they may become both a laughing stock and a menace to the community is made unpleasantly apparent by that portion of the New York business and social world which is most in evidence in the papers.

"Wrongs should be strenuously and fearlessly denounced; evil principles and evil men should be condemned. The politician who cheats or swindles, or the newspaper man who lies in any form, should be made to feel that he is an object of scorn for all honest men."

In giving advice to college men, and he knew whereof he spoke, he denies that they are better or worse than men who have never been inside the walls of a college, while their responsibilities are infinitely greater.

"The worst offense that can be committed against the republic is the offense of the public man who betrays his trust; but second only to it comes the offense of the man who tries to persuade others that an honest and efficient public man is dishonest or unworthy. 'This is a wrong that can be committed in a great many different ways. Downright foul abuse may, after all, be less dangerous than incessant misstatements, sneers, and those half-truths which are the meanest lies.'"

HIS LOFTY AIMS AND PURPOSES.

It is evident that Mr. Roosevelt did not pursue a college course merely to gratify some ambitious member of his family who wished him to obtain and flourish an academic degree. Nor did he care to be known merely as an educated gentleman. Neither did he count the friendships and pleasant associations of college life a compensation for four years of study. He had a higher purpose in view than to be able merely to say he had been through college.

He was a student, a scholar, an athlete, a man with a college degree that he might be something else. His education was only a stepping-stone to those grand achievements for which a course of study would help to prepare him. He had lofty aims. He wished to be more than a money maker or a money spender. He did not despise wealth, but he did despise the base, sordid, vulgar use of it.

"Each of us who reads the Gettysburg speech," he writes, "or the second inaugural address of the greatest American of the nineteenth century, or who studies the long campaign and lofty statesmanship of that other American who was even greater, cannot but feel within him that lift toward things higher and nobler which can never be bestowed by the enjoyment of material prosperity."

CHAPTER XXI

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

MR. ROOSEVELT RESOLVES TO ENTER POLITICAL LIFE—ELECTED ASSEMBLYMAN BY THE MURRAY HILL DISTRICT IN NEW YORK—HIS VIEWS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP—DUTIES OF PUBLIC OFFICE—HIS YOUTHFUL APPEARANCE—ENEMY OF ALL POLITICAL ABUSES—WHAT HE THINKS CONCERNING “BOSSES” AND “MACHINES”—EVERY CITIZEN EXPECTED TO BE A PATRIOT AND DO HIS WHOLE DUTY—CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES—FRANK TO ADMIT AN ERROR—AUTHOR OF CIVIL SERVICE LAW—ROOSEVELT SNEERED AT AS A REFORMER—VICTORY IN A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER.

MR. ROOSEVELT graduated from Harvard University in 1880, at the age of twenty-two. Returning from his trip to Europe, he began the study of law with his uncle, Robert B. Roosevelt. He had planned to write a history of the United States Navy, and was more engrossed with this, which was work congenial to his tastes, than he was with dry and musty law books. He had set his face toward the field of literature, and devoted all his spare time to the history which he was preparing for publication.

The Roosevelts had always taken great interest in public affairs. They did not believe a man could be a good citizen without doing this. If they were not public officials they had a voice in making them. They were property holders and voters. They set a low estimate on men who are always ready to cry out against public evils and then neglect their duty at primaries and the polls. They knew that municipal government is always what the citizens make it, and if decent, honest citizens are recreant to their sacred trust, bad government will result, and, in fact, is only to be expected. This has been the history of all legislation from time immemorial. If there is ever any improvement in the administration of public affairs it must come from the citizens themselves.

Influenced by such considerations, young Roosevelt resolved

to launch into politics. He had the commendable example of a long line of worthy ancestors. They had been powerful factors in moulding the commercial and social life of New York. His ideas of good citizenship had come to him as a kind of inheritance. He did not have to sit down and reason himself into a political career. Being a Roosevelt, he was expected, of course, to be public spirited, and take a constant interest in city affairs and government.

EVERY MAN SHOULD SHOW HIS COLORS.

"I have always believed," he has said, describing his entry into the political field, "that every man should join a political organization and should attend the primaries; that he should not be content to be merely governed, but should do his part of that work. So after leaving college I went to the local political headquarters, attended all the meetings, and took my part in whatever came up. There arose a revolt against the member of assembly from that district, and I was nominated to succeed him, and was elected."

What could be expected of a young man who was but twenty-three years old? Yet he was not held back from active effort by what the great English statesman, Pitt, described, in words of bitter irony, as "the unpardonable crime of being a young man."

When the famous Jeremy Taylor went to his bishop to obtain orders as a clergyman, the bishop looked at his youthful face and figure, shook his head, and said, "You are entirely too young." "If the Lord spares my life," quickly responded Taylor, "I will remedy that little matter." The reply captivated the bishop and carried the day. The callow youth was ordained, and afterward became the celebrated Bishop Jeremy Taylor, whose brilliant discourses and writings are among the classics of English literature.

There was something about Theodore Roosevelt that indicated a maturity beyond his years. When he spoke he had something to say. When he gave an opinion it appeared to come from a well-trained judicial mind. He soon showed himself to be the deadly enemy of all political abuses. He was a problem on the

hands of men of a different character; they were puzzled to know what to do with him.

It was in the fall of 1881 that he was elected from the Twenty-first district, and he was twice re-elected, serving in the legislatures of 1882, 1883 and 1884. This district embraces a considerable part of Murray Hill, a locality long noted for its aristocracy of wealth, and equally notorious at that time for the unprincipled, corrupt and infamous character of the men who represented it at Albany. So far as its wealth, intelligence and honest virtues were represented, it might as well have taken its assemblymen from the reeking dregs of the Bowery.

FIGHTS FOR DECENT GOVERNMENT.

Here was a chance for Mr. Roosevelt to make a determined fight in the interest of decent government, and with coat off and sleeves rolled up he went into the contest. He was never dismayed by anything in the nature of a fight, and his courage was equal to the emergency. There was a rattling among the dry-bones. A new force was in the field. His weapons were truth, honesty, downright denunciation of all corruption, and a rallying cry for such a State government as would redeem the great metropolis and rescue it from the grip of the plunderers and low politicians whose chicanery had made it a hissing and a by-word.

By dint of hard effort and aided by men who thought and felt as he did, he secured the nomination, and as the district was republican his election was assured. He was to be a law-maker at Albany, representing a constituency that had hitherto paid little attention to its own best interests and had become the victim of designing men.

His personal appearance at this time was not such as to give promise that he would become a leader in the lower House at Albany, or would be anything more than a good, well-meaning stripling, but one who could be easily managed and manipulated by older men experienced in all the arts of questionable legislation.

He had a youthful look; he was the youngest member of the assembly. He was well dressed and immediately was nicknamed

"Silk Stocking." There was nothing of the swagger and assumption invariably exhibited by small men "clothed with a little brief authority." He was very near-sighted and his eye-glasses gave him the appearance of a man of books rather than a man of affairs. What were his conceptions of the duties belonging to public office may be gathered from his own words :

"The terms 'machine' and 'machine politician' are now undoubtedly used ordinarily in a reproachful sense ; but it does not follow that this sense is always the right one. On the contrary, the machine is often a very powerful instrument for good ; and a machine politician really desirous of doing honest work on behalf of the community is fifty times as useful as a philanthropic outsider. In the rough, however, the feeling against machine politics and politicians is tolerably well justified by the facts, although this statement really reflects most severely upon the educated and honest people who largely hold themselves aloof from public life and show a curious incapacity for fulfilling their public duties.

"MACHINES" FOR PERSONAL BENEFIT.

"The organizations that are commonly and distinctly known as machines are those belonging to the two great recognized parties or to their factional subdivisions; and the reason why the word machine has come to be used, to a certain extent, as a term of opprobrium is to be found in the fact that these organizations are now run by the leaders very largely as business concerns to benefit themselves and their followers, with little regard for the community at large. This is natural enough. The men having the control and doing the work have gradually come to have the same feeling about politics that other men have about the business of a merchant or manufacturer ; it was too much to expect that if left entirely to themselves they would continue disinterestedly to work for the benefit of others.

"Many a machine politician who is to-day a most unwholesome influence in our politics is in private life quite as respectable as any one else ; only he has forgotten that his business affects the

State at large, and regarding it as merely his own private concern he has carried into it the same selfish spirit that actuates in business matters the majority of the average mercantile community.

“A merchant or manufacturer works his business as a rule purely for his own benefit, without any regard whatever for the community at large. The merchant uses all his influence for a low tariff, and the manufacturer is even more strenuously in favor of protection—not at all upon any theory of abstract right, but because of self-interest. Each views such a political question as the tariff not from the standpoint of how it will affect the nation as a whole, but merely from that of how it will affect him personally.

CONSTANT VIGILANCE NEEDED.

“If a community were in favor of protection, but nevertheless permitted all the governmental machinery to fall into hands of importing merchants, it would be small cause for wonder if the latter shaped the laws to suit themselves, and the chief blame, after all, would rest with the supine and lethargic majority which failed to have enough energy to take charge of their own affairs. Our machine politicians in actual life are in just this same way; their actions are very often dictated by selfish motives, with but little regard for the people at large, though, like the merchants, they often hold a very high standard of honor on certain points; they therefore need to be continually watched and opposed by those who wish to see good government. But, after all, it is hardly to be wondered at that they abuse power which is allowed to fall into their hands owing to the ignorance or timid indifference of those who by right should themselves keep it.”

In one of his addresses President Roosevelt had something pointed and wholesome to say for the individual, as an individual, and also as a member of the body politic with a duty to perform to the government which shields him. As usual, the President put aside, as did Carlyle, the enervating doctrine that mere personal happiness, the primrose path of ease and delight, is a worthy aim for strong men of a vigorous race who have done

things, and in doing the hardest tasks find and should find the highest and best satisfaction. Let us not make believe that there are no obstacles in the way of life, he says ; "living is fighting" ; let us quit ourselves like men, and happiness will follow or not, as it may be :

"For many of us life is going to be very hard. For each one of us who does anything it is going to have hard stretches in it. Otherwise, men would not do anything. If a man does not meet with difficulties, if he does not put himself in a way where he has to overcome them, he would not do anything that is worthy of being done."

BROTHERHOOD MUST BE RECOGNIZED.

Gird yourselves, then, for the work to be done, and Americans will never shirk. Nor does the individual lack vigor ; but in the midst of this seething, restless activity huge problems, social and industrial, face us that must be solved, and they can only be solved by the recognition of the brotherhood of man, in which is involved the fact that all the people in the country have rights, and all equally have duties.

Ours, he says, is the best form of government in the world ; but it is not automatic. It is adapted only to the highest general level of intelligence and education, and to a moral and highly patriotic people, who not only feel their patriotism swelling when the foreign foe threatens, but always have the steady glow of devotion to the common weal. If, for instance, employers and workers could be got together and made to know each other better, and recognize the rights the one of the other, industrial war would not be frequent.

"Now, in our life of to-day—in our great complex industrial centres—what do we need most ? We need most each to understand the other's viewpoint—to understand that the other man is at bottom like himself. Each of us should understand that, and try to approach the subject at issue, or any problem that arises, with a firm determination not to be weak or foolish. That is helpful to your neighbor."

According as we one and all do our duty by the nation and by one another, in the spirit which animated our two great Americans, Washington and Lincoln, will this nation, he says, "succeed or fall in the century which has opened before us."

Now this seems to be a sufficiently indefinite and hazy plan for the cure of the defects in the body politic and for the preservation of the republic. Here is no brilliant or striking programme, no patent method ; but in truth there is no patent method attainable. Laws and ordinances are all futile if the people be not imbued with the spirit of justice. In a frank and direct way the President enforced the old lesson that the nation will be just as good as the individuals who compose it, and not a whit better. All the legislation that the wit of man has conceived never made a strong nation, nor ever will.

CHARACTER IS EVERYTHING.

It is the fault of the age that too much stress is placed on laws or systems or the things which Matthew Arnold called mere machinery, while the plain, but too much overlooked, truth remains that the character of the individual is the only preservative of a people ; that safety depends on character, on devotion to those great principles of truth, honor, justice and mercy—"principles against which no argument can be listened to ; principles which are the books, the arts, the academies that teach, lift up and nourish the world, without which it is better to die than to live ; which every servant of God, over every sea and in all lands, should cherish." This is the simple doctrine the President would teach, and by word and example he furnishes an attractive and inspiring spectacle to the country, armed, as we believe he is, in simple truth and direct honesty.

These were the ideas concerning private and public duty that controlled and actuated Roosevelt, the young legislator who was sent up to Albany to help make laws for the greatest commonwealth in the land—and not merely to make laws, but to unmake some that had already been made and were known to be vicious and unjust, when, at the connivance of public robbers, they were

placed on the statute book. It was an inviting field for a young reformer, provided he had grit and courage enough to undertake such a herculean task. Fortunately, he was not appalled by the magnitude of the work to be done.

What his ideas were, and what were the principles he intended to act upon and advocate soon came to be known; men who were of his way of thinking, gathered around him, and before the first term of the legislature was over he was the recognized leader of the minority party in the assembly.

VIEWS ON STATE LEGISLATION.

Mr. Roosevelt is the author of a paper on "Phases of State Legislation," in which he has stated clearly some of the views he holds on this subject :

"There are two classes of cases in which corrupt members get money. One is when a wealthy corporation buys through some measure which will be of great benefit to itself, although perhaps an injury to the public at large; the other is when a member introduces a bill hostile to some moneyed interest with the expectation of being paid to let the matter drop. The latter, technically called a 'strike,' is much the more common; for in spite of the outcry against them in legislative matters, corporations are more often sinned against than sinning.

"It is difficult for reasons already stated to convict the offending member, though we have very good laws against bribery. The reform has got to come from the people at large. It will be hard to make any great improvement in the character of the legislators until respectable people become fully awake to their duties, and until the newspapers become more truthful and less reckless in their statements."

But "there is a much brighter side to the picture—and this is the larger side, too. It would be impossible to get together a body of more earnest, upright and disinterested men than the band of legislators, largely young men who" (during the three years he was in office) "have averted so much evil and accomplished so much good at Albany. This body of legislators who,

at any rate, worked honestly for what they thought right, were as a whole quite unselfish and were not treated particularly well by their constituents. Most of them soon got to realize the fact that if they wished to enjoy their brief space of political life they would have to make it a rule never to consider, in deciding how to vote on any question, how their vote would affect their own political prospects.

VALUE OF THOROUGH ORGANIZATION.

"Under our form of government, no man can accomplish anything by himself—he must work in combination with others; but there seems often to be a certain lack of the robust virtues in our educated men which makes them shrink from the struggle and the inevitable contact with rough politicians (who must often be rudely handled before they can be forced to behave), while their lack of familiarity with their surroundings causes them to lack discrimination between the politicians who are decent and those who are not; for in their eyes the two classes, both equally unfamiliar, are indistinguishable.

"Another reason why this class is not of more consequence in politics is that it is often really out of sympathy—or, at least, its more conspicuous members are—with the feelings and interests of the great mass of American people; and it is a discreditable fact that it is in this class that what has been most aptly termed the 'colonial' spirit still survives. From different causes the laboring classes, even when thoroughly honest at heart, often fail to appreciate honesty in their representatives. They are frequently not well informed in regard to the character of the latter, and they are apt to be led aside by the loud professions of the so-called labor reformers who are always promising to procure by legislation the advantages which can only come to workingmen, or to any other men, by their individual or united energy, intelligence and forethought. Very much has been accomplished by legislation for laboring men by procuring mechanics' lien laws, factory laws, etc.; and hence it often comes they think legislation can accomplish all things for them."

He then goes on to show, as he has done repeatedly in his writings and public addresses, that laws are powerless in themselves. They are not automatic. They are only the instruments by which the community acts and unless the individual citizen is back of them they are utterly worthless. You may legislate until doomsday; you may pile laws as high as the tower of Babel, but they are nothing more than useless rubbish unless there is a public sentiment that demands their execution and rises in righteous wrath when they are ignored or violated.

ELECTED AGAIN TO THE LEGISLATURE.

After Mr. Roosevelt had served one term in the legislature his record was so satisfactory that he was re-elected by the 21st assembly district. His large majority of 2,219 showed plainly what his constituents thought of the upright course he had pursued and the efficient work he had done. He ran 2,000 votes ahead of his ticket, and with this strong endorsement took his seat again in the lower house at Albany. His party was now in the majority and his friends began an active canvass to make him speaker. He proved a strong candidate for the nomination, but failed by a few votes.

This was not a cause of regret either to himself or to those who had supported him, as it left him free to lead his party on the floor and push through certain measures for the public good that were urgently needed. His frankness was one of his most prominent traits. If convinced that any bill he had advocated was against the true interests of the public or any corporation, he yielded promptly, and did it with a grace and readiness that elevated him in the esteem of his fellow legislators.

In the session of 1883 he began a vigorous warfare against the railroad companies, and introduced a bill requiring the New York elevated road to reduce its fare from ten cents to five. He did this for the purpose of freeing the public, and workingmen especially, from what he considered an extortionate fare. The bill met with much opposition, but with characteristic energy and perseverance he pushed it through and secured its adoption.

Grover Cleveland was then Governor of New York, and he promptly vetoed the bill on the ground that the rate of fare had been taken into consideration when the companies asked the public to invest their capital, and also on the ground of an implied obligation that had arisen between the State and the railroad companies when the franchises were granted. These were considerations that Mr. Roosevelt had overlooked, and he came to believe he had been fathering an unjust measure, although his motives no one could impugn. The question came up as to whether the bill should be passed over the Governor's veto. To the astonishment of his associates he flatly opposed it, and was now ready to kill the very enactment he had urged with so much courage and ability.

A REMARKABLE CONFESSION.

"I have to say with shame," he began, "that when I voted for this bill I did not act as I think I ought to have acted, and as I generally have acted on the floor of this House. For the only time that I ever voted here contrary to what I think to be honestly right I did at that time. I have to confess that I weakly yielded, partly to a vindictive feeling toward the infernal thieves who have that railroad in charge, and partly to the popular voice of New York. For the managers of the elevated railroads I have as little feeling as any man here, and if it were possible I would be willing to pass a bill of attainder against Gould and all of his associates.

"I realize that they have done the most incalculable harm to this community—with their hired stock-jobbing newspaper, with their corruption of the Judiciary, and with their corruption of this House. It is not a question of doing right to them, for they are merely common thieves. As to the resolution—a petition handed in by the directors of the company—signed by Gould and his son, I would pay more attention to a petition signed by Barney Aaron, Owen Geoghegan, and Billy McGlory than I would pay to that paper, because I regard these men as part of an infinitely dangerous order—the wealthy criminal class."

The motion to pass the bill over Governor Cleveland's veto

was lost, but Roosevelt had scored heavily in the respect and esteem of all honest men. He was as ready to admit an error as he was to do what he honestly believed to be right. Nor was this all. He had coined a phrase—"the wealthy criminal class"—that struck the popular heart and further enhanced his popularity with the plain people. It was a remarkable phrase to be uttered by one who was himself a young man of wealth. In this, as in many other instances, he showed his well-known habit of calling things by their right names, whoever might be hit or hurt.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's biographers furnishes the following information concerning his third term at Albany: "After his third election in 1884 he introduced the Civil Service law, a bold and revolutionary political measure at that time. He worked hard for legislation for the benefit of New York city, and was exceedingly active in furthering all philanthropic bills and those measures having for their object the interests of the laboring men. He was the man who instituted the movement for the abolition of tenement-house cigar factories. He was chairman of the noted Legislative Investigating Committee, the Roosevelt Committee, which brought to light many of the abuses existing in the city government at that time."

HIS OPINION OF THE AVERAGE LAW-MAKER.

His opinion of the ordinary State legislator is made clear from the succeeding statement: "The worst legislators come from the great cities. Among them are a few cultivated and scholarly men, but the bulk are foreigners of little or no education. It is their ignorance, quite as much as actual viciousness, which makes it so difficult to secure the passage of good laws or prevent the passage of bad ones; and it is the most irritating of the many elements with which we have to contend in the fight for good government."

The qualities necessary to success in those legislative battles Mr. Roosevelt himself describes as follows: "To get through any such measures requires genuine hard work, a certain amount of

parliamentary skill, a good deal of tact and courage, and, above all, a thorough knowledge of the men with whom one has to deal and of the motives which actuate them.

"Legislative life has temptations enough to make it unadvisable for any weak man, whether young or old, to enter it. A great many men deteriorate very much morally when they go to Albany. It will be hard to make any great improvement in the character of the legislators until respectable people become more fully awake to their duties, and until the newspapers become more truthful and less reckless in their statements. The servile tool of the 'boss' or the 'machine' in the legislature can rarely be a good public servant."

PLEA FOR HIGH STANDARD OF CITIZENSHIP.

In the same line of thought is the following extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Roosevelt at Hartford, Conn., when he visited that city and was welcomed by an enthusiastic throng: "Mankind goes ahead but slowly, and it goes ahead mainly through each of us trying to do the best that is in him, and to do it in the sanest way. We have founded our republic upon the theory that the average man will, as a rule, do the right thing, that in the long run the majority are going to decide for what is sane and wholesome. If our fathers were mistaken in that theory, if ever things become such—not occasionally but persistently, that the mass of the people do what is unwholesome, what is wrong, then the republic cannot stand.

"I care not how good its laws. I care not what marvelous mechanism its constitution may embody. Back of the laws, back of the administration, back of the system of government, lies the man, lies the average manhood of our people, and in the long run we are going to go up or go down accordingly as the average standard of our citizenship does or does not wax in growth and grace. [Great applause.]

"Now, when we come to the question of good citizenship, the first requisite is that the man shall do the homely, every-day, humdrum duties well. A man is not a good citizen, I do not care

how lofty his thoughts are about citizenship in the abstract, if in the concrete his actions do not bear them out; and it does not make much difference how high his aspirations for mankind at large may be, if he does not behave well in his own family those aspirations do not bear visible fruit. He has got to be a good bread-winner, he has got to take care of his wife and his children, he has got to be a neighbor whom his neighbors can trust.

“He has got to act squarely in his business relations, he has got to do those every-day ordinary things first, or he is not a good citizen. But he has got to do more than that. In this country of ours the average citizen has got to devote a good deal of thought and time to the affairs of the State as a whole or those affairs are going to go backward; and he has got to devote that thought and that time steadily and intelligently.

SPASMS IN THE WORK OF REFORM.

“If there is any one quality that is not admirable, whether in a nation or in an individual, it is hysterics, either in religion or in anything else. The man or woman who makes up for ten-days' indifference to duty by an eleventh-day of morbid repentance about that duty is of scant use in the world. [Laughter.] Now in the same way it is of no possible use to decline to go through all the ordinary duties of citizenship for a long space of time and then suddenly to get up and feel very angry about something or somebody, not clearly defined in one's mind, and demand reform, as if it was a concrete substance to be handed out forthwith.”

It can readily be understood that Mr. Roosevelt had a very poor opinion of those New York voters who cried out against the evils that afflicted their city, yet did little or nothing to remedy them. One day he said to a gentleman, “I suppose you will, of course, vote next Tuesday.” “I am sorry to say,” the man replied, “that I have an engagement to go quail-hunting on that day.” Imagine a man like Roosevelt deliberately setting aside the highest duty, the most important function of a citizen, to chase quails with a shotgun. The man who would not spend a moment's time, or a cent of his money, in the interest of good

government was little less than a traitor and was only to be despised.

When Roosevelt began his career at Albany some one sneeringly remarked that he had "started out to reform the universe." Those who can sneer at the honest efforts of a true reformer are not likely to reform anything, but finally disappear from public view, leaving behind them only the slimy trail of their own corruption and knavery. At Albany Mr. Roosevelt boldly attacked public abuses that had been festering for years in the body politic. He did not succeed in every instance, but the fault was not his. It lay at the door of the tricksters, the men who put themselves up at auction, the party trimmers who were afraid their political interests would be imperilled.

VICTOR IN A PERSONAL ENCOUNTER.

Of course, a "Silk Stocking" who believed in good government and upright law-makers encountered opposition and made enemies. But he never cherished hard feelings toward any one who did not choose to support the measures he advocated. In this connection the following incident related by one of his biographers will be of interest:

"It has always been a peculiarity of Mr. Roosevelt's nature that he never 'got mad' at people, no matter what the provocation. He always remembered faces, and all that had passed in his association with a man; but he never avoided that person, no matter what the latter's conduct may have been. In legislative life that is an especially valuable trait. He could fight a man all day on the floor and then meet him with a laugh and a jest in the evening.

"And so on this night, after a day when he had been a particularly sharp thorn in the side of corruption, he moved about the lobby of the old hotel, chatting with friends, tossing a laugh and a good-natured thrust at those who had opposed him, and treating the whole matter from the standpoint of one who understands the motives as well as the actions of those with whom he is associated. He did not pose. He made no pretense of loftier

morality than those about him, but let them draw their own conclusions from his conduct.

"At ten o'clock he started to leave the hotel. On the way from the upper portion of the lobby, where he had been chatting with fellow members, he passed the door leading to the buffet. And from that door, as by a preconcerted signal from the 'honorable men' with whom he had been associating, came a group of fellows, rather noisy, and full of the jostling which follows tarrying at the wine. They were not a pleasant lot. One in particular was a pugilist called 'Stubby' Collins, and this bully bumped rather forcibly against Mr. Roosevelt. The latter was alone, but he saw in an instant, with the eye of a man accustomed to collisions, the fact that this little party had waylaid him with a purpose. He paused, fully on his guard, and then 'Stubby,' with an appearance of the greatest indignation, struck at him, demanding angrily 'What do you mean, runnung into me that way?'

THOROUGHLY ENJOYED THE SCRIMMAGE.

"The blow did not land. The men who hired 'Stubby' had not informed him that this young member of the assembly had been one of the very best boxers at Harvard, and rather liked a fight. They had simply paid the slugger a certain price to 'do up' the man who could not take a hint in any other way.

"In an instant Mr. Roosevelt had chosen his position. It was beyond the group of revellers, and where he could keep both them and the more aristocratic party of their employers in view. And there, standing quite alone, 'Stubby' made his rush. In half a minute the thug was beaten. He had met far more than his match, and the two or three of his friends who tendered their assistance were gathering themselves up from the marble floor of the lobby and wondering if there had not been a mistake.

"When it was all over Mr. Roosevelt walked, still smiling, down the room, and told the 'honorable' providers of this combat that he understood perfectly their connection with it, and that he was greatly obliged to them—he had not enjoyed himself more for a year."

CHAPTER XXII

MR. ROOSEVELT AS A COWBOY AND RANCHMAN.

DIME NOVELS—SEEKING ROMANTIC ADVENTURES—EMPTINESS OF A LIFE OF MERE SPORT—ROOSEVELT BUYS A RANCH—FAR FROM CIVILIZATION—ADVANTAGES OF LIFE ON THE PLAINS—FIRST APPEARANCE AT MEDORA—THE RANCH BUILDING—BREAKING WILD HORSES—PURSUIT OF BIG GAME—THRILLING ADVENTURE WITH A GRIZZLY BEAR—FRIGHTENS A RUFFIAN—HIS ACCOUNT OF A FLOCK OF WILD GEESE—STORY OF "OLD EPHRAIM"—WINTER NIGHTS AT THE RANCH.

IF Theodore Roosevelt, the boy, ever read a dime novel or a story of wild western life, no mention has ever been made of it. He did not get his love of frontier life from the cheap literature that kills bears and Indians on every page. The average boy who reads of the burly bandit and desperate outlaw holding up stage-coaches and railway trains, is apt to admire such bold deeds and imagine himself the hero of similar achievements. He is eager to outdo the ruffians whose exploits are all duly chronicled.

Suddenly the band of desperadoes appears, halts the coach in an unfrequented spot, flourishes rifles and revolvers, terrorizes the helpless passengers, strips them of their valuables, paralyzes by threats all attempts at resistance, and, having secured the plunder, purses, watches and jewelry, vanishes from sight, leaving the outraged victims to express their thankfulness at having escaped with their lives. Stories of this description, dressed up in hysterical phrases, form the staple of that vast mass of pernicious dime literature which fascinates the youthful reader and in many instances turns him into an adventurer and an outlaw.

He is thrilled by the strange, weird, sanguinary tales of pioneer life. He craves a career of romantic adventure. He would shoot a bear or an Indian; he would ride a bucking horse on a hunting excursion; perhaps he would become an armed ruffian

and make his name a terror by robbery and deeds of violence. His ambition is to roam the plains, lead the life of a marauder and become a freebooter like those whose exploits he has read of in books and which he is eager to imitate.

It was not from such motives or with such intentions that young Roosevelt resolved to try the experiences of life on the western plains. If the thousand tales of daring feats, bold enterprises and dangerous ventures that are so eagerly read by school-boys ever had any charm for him, they certainly did not influence his actions in the slightest degree. He had no thought of achieving distinction by scalping Indians. But he wanted a ranch in the West and secured one in North Dakota during his third term at Albany. He was fond of hunting big game. The long expedition with his trusty rifle and a few associates or attendants was his pastime.

BOOKS WERE A PART OF HIS OUTFIT.

Mere sport is commonly an idle thing, a device for whiling away time and obtaining a temporary pleasure. Roosevelt had no thought of going to the Bad Lands for any such purpose. He had other objects in view, and although enjoying the chase as any full-blooded man would be apt to enjoy it, he never would have ventured into the far West merely for this. He had aims and ideals that could not be realized by trout fishing and bear hunting. His books went with him, and were as much a part of his outfit as his gun and cartridge pouch.

He felt that vigor of mind and body would result from roughing it on his ranch. He would breathe a pure air, drink from unpolluted streams, climb steep cliffs and stand on their summits in the glow of healthful exercise. The winds would bronze his cheek and toughen his fibre. The weariness of toil would bring refreshing sleep; the silence of the evening camp would give him an opportunity to think; books would be read with a keener relish; the wild horse, spirited and hard to subdue, would test his nerve and muscle; association with the shrewd, yet untutored, ranchmen would hold him in contact with common,

ordinary men ; he would learn much from the rough characters whose names are never written in histories, but who are after all heroes in their way.

Mr. Roosevelt's ranch was a long distance from even the outposts of civilization, six hundred miles from St. Paul, on the northwestern border of North Dakota. Nature there is pure and unadulterated—no snorting locomotives, no whizzing automobiles, no street cars or fashionable promenaders, no demoniac yells from brokers on the exchange, no church bells or operatic choirs, and no rank odors from gutters and alleys. There is something to be said in favor of Dame Nature—dense forests, high bluffs, dark ravines, noisy waterfalls, suns that modestly hide their afternoon faces behind mountains, birds and animals that fly and roam in their native haunts, rivers that sweep on majestically to the sea. God made all this.

ADVANTAGES OF FRONTIER LIFE.

If Mr. Roosevelt wished to flee to solitude and a retreat from all intrusion, he made a good choice of location. The nearest town is Medora, eight miles away, so named after the wife of the Marquis de Mores, who, before her marriage, was the beautiful Miss Von Hoffman, of New York.

In such a region as that, one is not likely to be troubled by his neighbors. Many miles intervene between a ranch and the one adjoining it. Your business is not interfered with ; there is no neighborhood gossip ; reports that have to travel twenty miles to find a listener must be pretty robust if they do not die on the way. One need not complain of depredations by his neighbors' chickens or annoyance from pedlers.

Out into this remote corner of the Bad Lands Mr. Roosevelt went and left the world behind him. He ceased to be a legislator that he might become a cowboy. He made as good a cowboy as he did assemblyman of the Empire State, determined always to do well whatever he undertook. His life on the ranch was not a play-spell. He did not ask his men to do what he was not willing to do himself, and any one who got an earlier start in the morning

than he did or worked later at night might have been considered a good candidate for rapid promotion.

When Mr. Roosevelt first appeared at Medora in the early eighties he was an object of great curiosity. A central saloon was the place of rendezvous for both the respectable people in town and those who belonged to that class of adventurers who frequent all frontier settlements. They eyed him curiously, wondered who he was and what brought him to that place, made side remarks about his personal appearance, and did not for a moment class him as one of themselves. He was young, rather tall and slim, dressed well and had the bearing of a gentleman entirely unused to a wild western life. They were figuring how much could be made out of him.

NOT A VICTIM FOR CHEATS AND ROBBERS.

He was too good a judge of human nature, and too expert in handling men, to be made a victim of any set of adventurers however shrewd or desperate they might be. As Mr. Roosevelt had gone to this locality for buffalo hunting he singled out a guide and found his experience of great service. This young fellow, named Sylvane Ferris, finally became a sort of companion to his employer. He was pleased to learn that the near-sighted sportsman from "way down East" could walk, ride, climb, shoot and rough it equal to any one who had grown up in that region and was accustomed to the adventures of life on the plains.

All this was only preliminary to securing a ranch, and combining sport with profit derived from raising such stock as cattle and horses. The ranch building is made of logs, hewn on one side for ornament. Some attention had to be paid to looks even in that wild country; no spot on earth can be found where outward appearances are of no account. There is a long, low veranda shaded by thrifty cotton-woods; a stretch of meadow lies in front and this is buttressed by precipitous cliffs.

The building is a story and a half high. On the ground floor is a living room, a library and kitchen. The sleeping apartments up stairs are of the most primitive kind, and none but cow-

boys accustomed to sleeping anywhere would be willing to take the chances of a night's rest in such rude barracks. In front is a horse corral, an enclosure in which to round up horses. This is built in circular shape to prevent the injury that might follow from the animals crowding into corners.

Mr. Roosevelt stocked his ranch with sixty head of wild horses. These were all to be broken to bit and bridle. No person except a cowboy could fail to have a vision of broken bones, and contusions ending in life-long scars and injuries, in view of the dangers of the work to be undertaken. Mr. Roosevelt appeared to enjoy it, and no one was more willing than he to mount a bucking mustang that preferred standing on either end to standing on all-fours. Once he was thrown by a long-legged, vicious brute that went by the name of "Ben Butler," and being too plucky to stay thrown he re-mounted and not until some time afterward did he disclose the fact that by his fall he had three ribs broken.

STORY OF HIS "MOST THRILLING MOMENT."

He could roam to any distance through the Bad Lands and pursue big game over a vast territory. The land is government land, is unsurveyed and likely to remain so for an indefinite time to come. It is fine hunting ground, being well stocked with such game as an enthusiastic hunter likes. Mr. Roosevelt occasionally had startling adventures while engaged in his favorite sport. Once he was in Idaho, was out alone with his gun, and was charged upon by a wounded grizzly bear, an animal terribly ferocious when face to face with a foe. We append his graphic account of this encounter, which he calls his "most thrilling moment:"

"I held true, aiming behind the shoulder, and my bullet shattered the point or lower end of his heart, taking out a big nick. Instantly the great bear turned with a harsh roar of fury and challenge, blowing the bloody foam from his mouth, so that I saw the gleam of his white fangs; and then he charged straight at me, crashing and bounding through the laurel bushes, so that it was hard to aim. I waited until he came to a fallen tree, raking

him, as he topped it, with a ball, which entered his chest and went through the cavity of his body; but he neither swerved nor flinched, and at the moment I did not know that I had struck him.

"He came steadily on, and in another second was almost upon me. I fired for his forehead, but my bullet went low, entering his open mouth, smashing his lower jaw and going into the neck. I leaped to one side almost as I pulled the trigger; and through the hanging smoke the first thing I saw was his paw, as he made a vicious side blow at me. The rush of his charge carried him past.

"As he struck he lurched forward, leaving a pool of bright blood where his muzzle hit the ground; but he recovered himself, and made two or three jumps onward, while I hurriedly jammed a couple of cartridges into the magazine, my rifle holding only four, all of which I had fired. Then he tried to pull up, but as he did so his muscles seemed suddenly to give way, his head dropped, and he rolled over and over like a shot rabbit. Each of my first three bullets had inflicted a mortal wound."

GOOD MARKSMAN AT RUNNING GAME.

Mr. Roosevelt has the name of being a good shot, particularly at running game, although he says his eyesight is too defective to admit of his taking first rank in this respect. This is what he has to say on this score:

"I myself am not and never will be more than an ordinary shot, for my eyes are bad and my hand not over steady; yet I have killed every kind of game to be found on the plains, partly because I have hunted very perseveringly, and partly because by practice I have learned to shoot about as well at a wild animal as at a target."

A correspondent of the New York *Herald* writing from Medora, in 1895, tells an incident which is indicative of the mettle in the make-up of Mr. Roosevelt. The incident was this: "For a long time after he had established his ranches the feeling between the outlaw element and the cattlemen ran high. It culminated

in a meeting, held in a little, unfinished freight shanty at Medora, for the purpose of banding the cattle owners together for mutual protection. It was openly hinted that a certain deputy sheriff was in collusion with the tough element. Not more than a score of quiet, determined men made up the meeting. The sheriff was present, an interested spectator.

BOLDLY FACES A DISHONEST SHERIFF.

"After some preliminary forms of organization, Mr. Roosevelt got up and addressed the meeting, or rather, addressed the sheriff. Never in the history of the frontier has such a speech been listened to. He openly accused the sheriff of dishonesty and incompetence, and with the reflected light from the officer's pearl-handled revolver at his belt flashing across his gold-rimmed glasses, the speaker scored him as a man unworthy and unfit for his office. It is one thing to deliver a fiery accusation of general or personal charges at a crowded meeting of law-abiding people. It is another to coolly stand before a silent handful of frontiersmen and openly accuse one of dishonesty.

"Death stares closely in the face the man who dares attempt it, for these men, bred in isolation, are sensitive to the quick on their personal honor, and an accusation that would be laughed at in Cooper Union would eat out a man's heart here. With downcast head the sheriff said never a word, but his prestige was gone forever."

President Roosevelt's hunting experiences were not always so dangerous as the one just narrated. While preferring what goes by the name of "big game," he was not indifferent to any beast or fowl. The larger birds often drew shots from his rifle and added to his trophies.

On one occasion he was annoyed by a flock of geese and furnishes the following account of his attack on them :

"They were clustered on a high sandbar in the middle of the river, which here ran in a very wide bed between two low banks. The only way to get at them was to crawl along the river-bed which was partly dry, using the patches of rushes and the sand

hillocks and drift-wood to shield myself from their view. As it was already late and the sun was just sinking, I hastily retreated a few paces, dropped on the bank, and began to creep along on my hands and knees through the sand and gravel. Such work is always tiresome, and is especially so when done against time. I kept in line with a great log washed up on the shore, which was some seventy-five yards from the geese.

A SHOT THAT WENT TO THE MARK.

"On reaching it and looking over, I was annoyed to find that in the fading light I could not distinguish the birds clearly enough to shoot, as the dark river bank was behind them. I crawled ahead quickly. Peeping over the edge I could now see the geese, gathered into a clump with their necks held straight out, sharply outlined against the horizon; the sand flats stretching out on either side, while the sky above was barred with gray and faint crimson. I fired into the thickest of the bunch, and as the rest flew off, with discordant clamor, ran forward and picked up my victim, a fat young wild goose (or Canada goose), the body badly torn by the bullet."

The President also relates another experience:

"I had been out after antelopes, starting before there was any light in the heavens, and pushing straight out towards the rolling prairie. After two or three hours, when the sun was well up, I neared where a creek ran in a broad, shallow valley. I had seen no game, and before coming up to the crest of the divide, beyond which lay the creek bottom, I dismounted and crawled up to it, so as to see if any animal had come down to drink.

"Field glasses are almost always carried while hunting on the plains, as the distances at which one can see game are so enormous. On looking over the crest with the glasses the valley of the creek for about a mile was stretched before me. At my feet the low hills came closer together than in other places, and shelved abruptly down to the bed of the valley, where there was a small grove of box-alders and cotton-woods. The beavers had, in times gone by, built a large dam at this place across the creek,

which must have produced a great back-flow and made a regular little lake in the times of freshets.

"But the dam was now broken, and the beavers, or most of them, gone, and in the place of the lake was a long, green meadow. Glancing towards this my eye was at once caught by a row of white objects stretched straight across it, and another look showed me that they were snow geese. They were feeding, and were moving abreast of one another slowly down the length of the meadow towards the end nearest me, where the patch of small trees and brushwood lay. A goose is not as big game as an antelope; still I had never shot a snow goose, and we needed fresh meat, so I slipped back over the crest and ran down to the bed of the creek, round a turn of the hill, where the geese were out of sight.

GETTING A GOOD POSITION FOR A SHOT.

"The creek was not an entirely dry one, but there was no depth of water in it except in certain deep holes; elsewhere it was a muddy ditch with steep sides, difficult to cross on horseback because of the quicksands. I walked up to the trees without any special care, as they screened me from view, and looked cautiously out from behind them. The geese were acting just as our tame geese act in feeding on a common, moving along with their necks stretched out before them, nibbling and jerking at the grass as they tore it up by mouthfuls.

"They were very watchful, and one or the other of them had its head straight in the air looking sharply round all the time. Geese will not come near any cover in which foes may be lurking if they can help it, and so I feared that they would turn before coming near enough to the brush to give me a good shot. I therefore dropped into the bed of the creek, which wound tortuously along the side of the meadow, and crept on all fours along one of its banks until I came to where it made a loop out towards the middle of the bottom.

"Here there was a tuft of tall grass, which served as a good cover, and I stood upright, dropping my hat, and looking through between the blades. The geese, still in a row, with several yards'

interval between each one and his neighbor, were only sixty or seventy yards off, still feeding towards me. They came along quite slowly, and the ones nearest, with habitual suspicion, edged away from the scattered tufts of grass and weeds which marked the brink of the creek. I tried to get two in line, but could not.

"There was one gander much larger than any other bird in the lot, though not the closest to me; as he went by just opposite my hiding place, he stopped still, broadside to me, and I aimed just at the root of the neck—for he was near enough for any one firing a rifle from a rest to hit him about where he pleased. Away flew the others, and in a few minutes, I was riding along with the white gander dangling behind my saddle."

INTERVIEW WITH THE GREAT GRIZZLY OF MONTANA.

One of the great feats of Mr. Roosevelt with his rifle was in his last interview with Old Ephraim, the Great Grizzly of Montana. The bear signs were found in the midst of pine trees, and the hunter thus tells the story:

"The beast's footprints were perfectly plain in the dust, and he had lumbered along up the path until near the middle of the hillside, where the ground broke away and there were hollows and boulders. Here there had been a windfall, and the dead trees lay among the living, piled across one another in all directions; while between and around them sprouted up a thick growth of young spruces and other evergreens. The trail turned off into the tangled thicket, within which it was almost certain we should find our quarry.

"We could still follow the tracks, by the slight scrapes of the claws on the bark, or by the bent and broken twigs; and we advanced with noiseless caution, slowly climbing over the dead tree trunks and upturned stumps, and not letting a branch rustle or catch on our clothes. When in the middle of the thicket we crossed what was almost a breastwork of fallen logs, and Merrifield, who was leading, passed by the upright stem of a great pine. As soon as he was by it, he sank suddenly on one knee, turning half round, his face fairly aflame with excitement; and as I strode past him, with

my rifle at the ready, there, not ten steps off, was the great bear, slowly rising from his bed among the great spruces. He had heard us, but apparently hardly knew exactly where or what we were, for he reared up on his haunches sideways to us.

"Then he saw us and dropped down again on all fours, the shaggy hair on his neck and shoulders seemed to bristle as he turned toward us. As he sank down on his forefeet I had raised the rifle; his head was bent slightly down, and when I saw the top of the white head fairly between his small, glittering, evil eyes, I pulled trigger. Half rising up, the huge beast fell over on his side in the death throes, the ball having gone into his brain, striking fairly between the eyes, as if the distance had been measured by a carpenter's rule. The whole thing was over in twenty seconds from the time I caught sight of the game; indeed, it was over so quickly that the grizzly did not have time to show fight at all or come a step toward us.

HUGE DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHT.

"It was the first I had ever seen, and I felt not a little proud as I stood over the great brindled bulk which lay stretched out at length in the cool shade of the evergreens. He was a monstrous fellow, much larger than any I have seen since, whether alive or brought in dead by the hunters. As near as we could estimate (for of course we had nothing with which to weigh more than very small portions) he must have weighed about twelve hundred pounds."

Mr. Roosevelt thus describes his ranch-building: "The story-high house of hewn logs is clean and neat, with many rooms, so that one can be alone if one wishes to. The nights in summer are cool and pleasant, and there are plenty of bear-skins and buffalo robes, trophies of our own skill, with which to bid defiance to the bitter cold of winter. In summer time we are not much within doors, for we rise before dawn and work hard enough to be willing to go to bed soon after nightfall.

"The long winter evenings are spent sitting round the hearthstone, while the pine logs roar and crackle, and the men

play checkers or chess, in the fire light. The rifles stand in the corners of the room or rest across the elk antlers which jut out from over the fireplace. From the deer horns ranged along the walls, and thrust into the beams and rafters, hang heavy overcoats of wolf-skin or coon-skin, and otter fur or beaver fur caps and gauntlets. Rough board shelves hold a number of books, without which some of the evenings would be long indeed.

"In the still fall nights, if we lie awake we can listen to the clanging cries of the water-fowl, as their flocks speed southward; and in cold weather the coyotes occasionally come near enough for us to hear their uncanny wailing. The larger wolves, too, now and then join in, with a kind of deep, dismal howling; but this melancholy sound is more often heard when out camping than from the ranch-house. The charm of ranch life comes in its freedom, and the vigorous open-air existence it forces a man to lead."

BENEFITS DERIVED FROM RANCH LIFE.

Mr. Roosevelt smiles when asked about the money he made by his cattle ranches. It is certain he did not amass a fortune and place himself in such a position that he could retire and live on the income of a fortune accumulated on the Western plains. Yet it must not be forgotten that he did not go West merely for money. Fresh air, outdoor exercise and labor, tough muscles and athletic frame, are things that cannot be valued in dollars and cents. Ranch life is good for the man who is always going to be a ranchman; it is no less good for the man who is going to be an author or statesman. Some grand brain work and some great oratorical feats have been performed by men with very muscular hands and ruddy faces.

After Mr. Roosevelt became President, he showed his fondness for the life of a hunter, and on more than one occasion broke loose from his official duties at Washington and fled to the woods for game and recreation. A southwestern journal gives the following account of one of his trips:

"President Roosevelt will be among the bears this afternoon at 4.30, when he reaches Smedes, Miss. A guide employed by

Stuyvesant Fish, president of the Illinois Central Railway, will escort the President into the most likely fastnesses of the cane-brake, and the slaughter will begin if bruin appears. The President hopes that the Mississippi bears will not be as shy as the Virginia turkeys. If they are, he will return to Washington empty handed.

"Colonel Roosevelt arrived on his special train and was met by Stuyvesant Fish and Lieutenant John McElhenny, formerly of the Rough Riders, his fellow hunters. A great crowd greeted the President at the station, where a stop was made only long enough to attach Mr. Fish's private car.

GENERAL HAMPTON'S OLD HUNTING GROUND.

"The place selected for the hunt is some miles from the railroad, and is in the region which was formerly the favorite hunting ground of General Wade Hampton, the famous leader of the Confederate Black Horse Cavalry. General Hampton at one time owned a plantation in this vicinity, and hunted black bear in the cane-brakes with horses and hounds.

"Years ago the President and General Hampton planned a hunt in this region, but it was never made, and when Mr. Fish, who is president of the Illinois Central, proposed the present trip, the President readily assented.

"To one who has hunted grizzlies in the Rockies, black bear are not very big game. But hunting bear with horse and hounds will be a new experience for him. If a bear shall not be secured it will not be the fault of Mr. Fish. He has arranged to have one of the best packs of hounds in the Mississippi delta at the camp.

"The President has with him the hunting outfit used by him for many years in his hunting trips after big game in the neighborhood of his ranch on the Little Missouri, in Dakota, and in the mountains of Idaho, Montana and Colorado. It includes a fringed buckskin, which is worn by the old wilderness hunter, and his favorite Winchester 40-90. With this weapon he has killed many of his hunting trophies. It bears the interesting

scars of one of his battles with a cougar, or mountain lion, in Colorado. In closing with a wounded cat, the President thrust the stock into his mouth. It shows the teeth marks of the enraged animal, and the place where a small piece was literally bitten away.

"His cartridge belt has a hunting knife attached. Most of the bullets are soft-nosed, but a few of them are steel jacketed for penetrating power in case the President should get a chance for a long shot. While thus prepared for wilderness conditions, it is not probable that the President will don his buckskin suit unless he finds that genuine conditions prevail."

The President spent several days in pursuit of bears, but the animals seemed to know that they were in danger, and were uncommonly shy. They even objected to being killed by a president, and Mr. Roosevelt returned to Washington without any bear skins.

CHAPTER XXIII

MR. ROOSEVELT'S ADVENTURES IN THE WEST.

HARDSHIPS OF FRONTIER LIFE—HARDY COWBOYS—AMUSEMENTS ON THE RANCH—THE SPRING AND FALL ROUND-UP—TROUBLES WITH WILD HERDS—RANCH BUSINESS ON THE WANE—HORACE GREELEY'S FARM—ADVENTURE WITH A BUFFALO—STORY OF ROOSEVELT'S BEAR HUNT IN MISSISSIPPI—HOW HE KILLED AN ELK—EVENING AT THE RANCH HOUSE—LOVER OF BOOKS—ADVANTAGES OF HIS SOJOURN IN DAKOTA—STUDY OF THE INDIAN QUESTION AT SHORT RANGE.

THIS great country of ours affords every variety of climate, from the mild breezes of the sunny South to the freezing blasts of northern New England and the great lakes. Oceans of grain on the vast prairies billow away, when stirred by summer winds, like the waves of a vast sea. A few months later and the prairies are swept by wintry storms that threaten destruction to man and beast. The rich valleys yield their splendid harvests, the verdure disappears and snows, driven by fierce gales, bury out of sight all signs of summer's thrift and beauty.

And even during any one season the fickle climate may play pranks entirely unlooked for, and confront the settlers with troubles for which little or no provision has been made. All guesses and calculations may fail; unexpected storms may deplete the herds, or some subtle disease may break out among the flocks.

The ranchman knows what to expect. His life is an alternation of sweating and shivering, but he becomes indifferent to changes of season and weather, and as he endures the heat of summer, so he braves the cold of winter. Sometimes a howling storm, with sleet and snow, sweeps over the plains; again the air is still, not a breath stirs, but the intense cold, sending the thermometer many degrees below zero, pierces like a Damascus blade. The clear air and intense cold are not so much dreaded as the furious gale, although in either case the man on the plains has a

serious hardship to contend with, and is fortunate if he escapes the clutches of the biting frost.

The cowboy is not supposed to take account of wind or weather. Drenched to the skin by an all-day rain, he flings himself at night on his hard couch, complains of no insomnia, rises at four in the morning, goes about his business and makes light of his hardships. He is seldom the victim of dyspepsia. He would be willing to risk the headache that comes from high living and abominable diet if he could only get that kind of food. He grows hardy, is what you might call "tough," and his powers of endurance resemble those of the old-fashioned Indians, who lived in their native forests.

Life on a ranch is not all labor and no play. To be sure, the hours are long, the work is often hard, the risks to life and limb in breaking wild horses to the bit are many, but the cowboy has his sports and pastimes. Any one who can play a fiddle, or even a jewsharp, or can sing a song, or, best of all, can dance a jig, is a favorite, and can afford an endless amount of amusement.

LOVER OF HARMLESS AMUSEMENTS.

Into all these harmless sports Mr. Roosevelt entered with the zest and enjoyment of a boy. If there was to be a dance in which all the elite from far and near were to appear in their most genteel apparel (or rather costumes) he was expected to open the proceedings and lead the merry-making. Festivities of this description were enjoyed by those who participated in them fully as much as the "four hundred" ever enjoyed any of their public functions.

Nor let it be supposed that the average cowboy has no sense of gentility or propriety. True he can mount a horse with more grace than he can bow to a lady; he can settle disputes without sending his card to the man who has insulted him; he can cut a more attractive figure on his fleet broncho than on the dancing floor; he appears more at ease in his rough riding suit than in "best clothes," but there is an honest, generous, considerate side to his nature, and, as a rule, he is manly and respectful. His

language is not always the most select, and his expletives are original and are apt to be sufficiently forcible to express his meaning; still he is not dumb to good treatment, and he will respond like a man to every manly appeal.

As Mr. Roosevelt knew the character of the men he had to deal with and could adapt himself to all persons and circumstances; he had little difficulty in the management of his ranch. Many things required to be done were both dangerous and difficult. In his book on "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" Mr. Roosevelt describes a "round-up."

The spot where this particular round-up took place was on the level bottom of a bend in the river. The wagons were scattered among the cotton-wood trees along the side of the river, and the horses were grazing not far away. In one part of the great corral the men were branding calves; every ranch has its own brand or mark and this tells who is the owner. The middle of the bottom was filled with a great herd of cattle and noisy cowboys galloping hither and yon on their fractious steeds.

HOW OWNERS FIND THEIR STOCK.

"As soon as, or even before, the last circle riders have come in and have snatched a few hasty mouthfuls to serve as their mid-day meal, we begin to work the herd—or herds, if the one herd should be of too unwieldly size. The animals are held in a compact bunch, most of the riders forming a ring outside, while a couple from each ranch successively look the herds through and cut out those marked with their own brand. To do good work in cutting out from a herd, not only should the rider be a good horseman, but he should also have a skilful, thoroughly trained horse.

"In cutting out a cow and a calf two men have to work together. As the animals of a brand are cut out they are received and held apart by some rider detailed for the purpose, who is said to be 'holding the cut.' All this time the men holding the herd have their hands full, for some animal is continually trying to break out, when the nearest man flies at it at once and soon brings

it back to its fellows. As soon as all the cows, calves, and whatever else is being gathered have been cut out the rest are driven clear off the ground and turned loose, being headed in the direction contrary to that in which we travel on the following day. Then the riders surround the next herd, the men holding cuts move them up nearer, and the work is begun anew.

HOW BRANDING IS DONE.

"As soon as the brands of cattle are worked and the animals that are to be driven along are put in the day herd, attention is turned to the cows and calves which are already gathered in different bands, consisting each of all the cows of a certain brand and all the calves that are following them. If there is a corral each band is in turn driven into it; if there is none a ring of riders does duty in its place. A fire is built, the irons heated, and a dozen men dismount to, as it is called, 'wrestle' the calves. The best two ropers go in on their horses to catch the latter; one man keeps tally, a couple put on the brands, and the others seize, throw and hold the little unfortunates.

"If there are seventy or eighty calves in a corral the scene is one of the greatest confusion. The ropers spurring and checking the fierce little Texan horses drag the calves up so quickly that a dozen men can hardly hold them; the men with the irons, blackened with soot, run to and fro; the calf-wrestlers, grimy with blood, dust and sweat, work like beavers; while with the voice of a stentor the tally-man shouts out the number and sex of each calf. The dust rises in clouds, and the shouts, cheers, curses and laughter of the men unite with the lowing of the cows and the frantic bleating of the roped calves to make a perfect Babel.

"Now and then an old cow turns vicious and puts every one out of the corral. Or a maverick bull—that is, an unbranded bull—a yearling or a two-year old, is caught, thrown and branded; when he is let up there is sure to be a fine scatter. Down goes his head, and he bolts at the nearest man who makes out of the way at top speed amidst roars of laughter from all of his companions; while the men holding down calves swear savagely as

they dodge charging mavericks, trampling horses, and taut lariats with frantic plunging little beasts at the farther ends."

The round-up here described is a feature of ranch business that tries all the strength and prowess of the men who engage in it. An eastern farmer can go into his pastures and find the cattle so accustomed to the sight of him and so used to his voice, and perhaps his touch, that they do not shun him or make any effort to run away. He can call the cows at night and in a few minutes see them coming down the lane. In the barnyard they seem almost to be a part of the family; they can be driven anywhere; they do not often jump fences and get lost; they can be depended upon for good intentions and are so domesticated that they give little trouble and require little care.

EASTERN FARMERS AND THEIR HERDS.

Such animals are well behaved compared with a great herd on the ranch. A ranch, from the very nature of the place, demoralizes the stock. The animals roam at their own free will; they go and come as they please; generally they go but do not come; if you want them you must chase them; they have very loose and wayward habits, and you may have to travel many miles before you overtake them and make them understand that they are wanted for some special occasion.

The old days of ranching are fast passing and new conditions are controlling the business. Yet the time is still distant when the vast plains of the West will cease to be the recruiting ground for the great droves of cattle needed by Omaha, Kansas City and Chicago for supplying the world with food. One would think that with such boundless pastures and such a world-wide demand the ranchman would easily become a millionaire, but with rare exceptions we never hear of the cattle king. We have had mining kings, lumber kings, merchant princes and railroad kings, but the multi-millionaire who made his fortune on the ranch is yet to be discovered.

The causes of this have been touched upon frequently by Mr. Roosevelt. The wrong man is sometimes on the ranch, a man

who has no experience and has not wit enough to gain any. He can never know what he has not the faculty of learning. Bad management will wreck any business; there are multitudes of men who cannot understand why their business is not a success; it would be if they themselves were a success.

To incompetence must sometimes be added inefficiency, laziness, lack of energy, and the idea that in some unexplained way business will take care of itself, will start at four o'clock in the morning and let the man who pretends to carry it on lie abed until eight. The ranchman who can never get an early start or show that he is wide awake, except when going on a hunting trip, is not likely to tell large stories of the amount of money to be made on a ranch.

LOSSES THAT CANNOT BE AVOIDED.

But the most serious obstacle the ranchman has to contend with is the losses to his stock that come from causes over which he has no control. He cannot make it rain in summer when fiery drouth is burning up the plains. He cannot stay the storm in winter that buries the earth in snow from four to ten feet deep. He is at the mercy of the elements, and the blasts that sweep down from polar realms have no pity on him.

What, with losses of stock that stray too far to be recovered or die from hunger and starvation, the prospects of large gains are not unmistakably sure.

Horace Greeley wrote a book to tell what he knew about farming. It was a common remark that the reason why Mr. Greeley had a farm was that he had a newspaper. The "Tribune" kept the farm going. What the farm did not do for itself was done by the famous journal, which some one called the Bible of the country people. On this principle any man could have a ranch and raise cattle and horses, but Mr. Roosevelt was slow to maintain that there was boundless wealth to be gained in the Bad Lands.

It may be said in a general way that Mr. Roosevelt enjoyed his life as a ranchman, and thrived on its rough experiences.

When not fully occupied with the management of his business, he was ready for the adventures that always fall to the lot of the hunter. Reference has already been made to Ferris, his guide, who accompanied him usually on his trips in pursuit of game. When Roosevelt first went to Dakota, buffalo hunting had about ceased. This animal had had his day, and was only occasionally to be met with. Ferris thus describes one of their first excursions:

"It meant hard work to get a buffalo at that time, and whether the thin young man could stand the trip was a question, but Roosevelt was on horseback and he rode better than I did, and could stand just as much knocking about as I could.

"On the first night out, when we were twenty-five or thirty miles from a settlement, we went into camp on the open prairie, with our saddle blankets over us, our horses picketed and the picket ropes tied about the horns of our saddles, which we used for pillows. In the middle of the night there was a rush, our pillows were swept from under our heads and our horses went tearing off over the prairie, frightened by wolves.

OVERTAKES A HUGE BUFFALO.

"Roosevelt was up and off in a minute after the horses.

"On the fourth or fifth day out, I think it was, our horses pricked up their ears and I told Roosevelt there was a buffalo close at hand. We dismounted and advanced to a big 'washout' near, peered over its edge, and there stood a huge buffalo bull, calmly feeding and unaware of our presence.

"'Hit him where that patch of red shows on his side,' said I, 'and you've got him.'

"Roosevelt was cool as a cucumber, took a careful aim and fired. Out came the buffalo from the 'washout,' with blood pouring from his mouth and nose. 'You've shot him,' I shouted, and so it proved, for the buffalo plunged a few steps and fell."

One of the early and useful friends of Roosevelt in the Wild West among the Rough Riders, was Colonel Cody, the famous Buffalo Bill, and many a wild ride they had. One of the most fearless and tireless of riders, Roosevelt was never fond of break-

ing the bucking bronchos, as seen in the shows of his friend on horseback. There were better ways of expending strength, and his plan of life was the useful investment of all his resources.

He went into the cattle business, and started with five hundred steers, and his guide remarks: "He worked for a part of a season as a cowboy. He had his own 'string' of horses, and they were as ugly and ill-tempered as the majority of cow horses. He was not a broncho-breaker, as he has been pictured to be, and he took no unnecessary chances in mounting or endeavoring to tame an especially ugly horse. But he did not shrink from riding his own horses when they cut up the customary capers of mustangs, and although he was sometimes thrown, and on one or two occasions pretty badly bruised and hurt, he stuck to his mounts until he had mastered them."

ROOSEVELT IN PURSUIT OF BEARS.

It will not be amiss in this connection to furnish the reader with an amusing account of one of Mr. Roosevelt's more recent hunting trips in pursuit of bears. The account emanated from Smedes, Miss., to which locality the President went to enjoy a few days in the woods.

"Ho" Collier, the veteran negro swamp guide and bear hunter, related the full story of his four days' experience with President Roosevelt. "Ho" was busily engaged in getting the horses, dogs and hunting outfit aboard a car on the siding at Smedes, to be taken back to his home at Greenville.

Holt Collier is one of the conspicuous figures in the Mississippi delta. His skill with his rifle and his constant attention to the trail for the past forty years have made him perfectly familiar with the ins and outs of the woods and every foot of the delta soil from Vicksburg to Memphis. He was President Roosevelt's personal guide throughout the hunt. Here is his story—the first detailed story of the hunt yet told:

"I know all those gent'men in de party has had a mighty fine time, and as for de President, I never seen a man in all my times of hunting in dese woods what 'joyed a hunt like he did.

He was jes' as happy as a schoolboy, and he certainly is a dead-game sport.

"We started out Thursday, and it took us 'bout till dark to get in camp and get settled good. So on Friday morning, 'fore we started out, Mr. Roosevelt said he was awful anxious to kill a b'ar.

"So when he said dat, I told him dat I was determined for him to get dat chance, and if I had to run a b'ar down and tie him I would see dat he got a chance to get a shot.

"Of course de party all scattered, and we begins to hunt, and somehow I felt like I was a-going to get a big one up, and sho' nuff, I wasn't wrong, 'cause dat b'ar we first started was de biggest he b'ar I ever see or heard tell of for a long time.

"He was a hard one to run down, too. I am here to tell yo' and wneu I heerd dat rascal breaking through de cane and my dogs hot after him I knew I was a-going to get close after him. I was anxious for some one to ride around and get the President to follow in with us, as I kept on feeling dat he could get a big b'ar 'fore long.

TRYING TO FIND THE PRESIDENT.

"Whar was de President? Why, Lordy, chile, he was a snooking 'round on his own hook in de jungle. Dat man wouldn't be tied to nobody. I done make a terrible noise, so he'd come whar de b'ar war, but whar wuz he?

"When my dogs did run dat b'ar down he went down in a mud hole, and it was kinder thick and hard to get at, so I stood round and didn't shoot, case I wanted 'the Colonel' to hurry up and come in behind me so he could kill the first one.

"I tried my best to get dat big b'ar to tree, but he wouldn't, so I thought he was jes' going to get the best of my pack, so I hit him with the butt of my gun and then throwed my lasso 'bout his neck and made him fast to a willer tree.

"Then they done got de President, and den when he come up, I says, 'Shoot de b'ar, Colonel, he's tied!'

"'Scuse me,' sez Colonel Roosevelt, laffan at de b'ar all tied up dar nice and snug, "'Scuse me,' sez he, 'dat's too easy.'

"De President was sholy sort of contempuse wid de situation, and I feels more liken a mule dan a hunter.

"De President said sumpin', I spect it war from de Bible, 'bout it ain't no use slayin' de helpless. Dere I wuz wif my b'ar done tied up, and I think mighty fast to get out of dat fix.

" 'Stick him,' sez I to Massa Parker, and den I showed him how to do de trick. I tell you, my honey, dat big rascal didn't las' much longer after dat knife went into him.

"I say, Colonel, you watch me close an' you sholy gits a b'ar. Den he lafs and sez, ' All right. Ho, I'll keep an eye onto you.'

"We didn't do no huntin' on Sunday, 'ca'se all of us is 'ligious. It was awful quiet in de camp, as we wus all meditatatin' on de foolishness of life and eatin.' I saw de President mos' every minute, and I do say dat he showed himself to be such a fine, good gentleman dat I was always admirin' of him.

GRANDER THAN A WHITE HOUSE DINNER.

"I tell you we done had a grand dinner, such like dey couldn't possibly have at de White House. How could dey git 'possum and b'ar, which we had wif sweet 'taters dat melt in de President's mouf and mak' him look so happy dat he had a good appetite? Den we had turkey gobbler, and dis nigger too perlite to say dat he eat more dan de President. It done mak's me hungry ag'in when I looks back on dat dinner.

"De President says befoah dinner dat he wants to go on a little stroll in de woods. Den one of de gentlemen sez to de President: ' Mistoo President, why doan you take you gun wid you?'

"De President he shakes his head an' walks away. He say: ' No; I ain't been alone since a long time goue, an' I'se goin' be alone for a little while now.'

"I seed what he done. He goes off an' sits down by de crick, an' looks into de water an' at de woods. Spec' he was thinkin', too, but I couldn't tell. Den he gits up an' comes in an' settles down to business a-eatin' of de 'possum an' de b'ar an' de taters an' de gobbler, an' looks like he was wholly happy.

"De President cheer me up, an' de rest, too. He tells me,

just like it was nuffin', 'bout some mighty fine hunts he done had over in de Rockies, 'bout shootin' lions and moose. He say he had some mighty good times, 'but Hol' he say, 'I gwine tell dat he ain' never had no nicer time anywhere den right here in dese Misippy woods.' Dat's de very words de Colonel sez to me.

"Den he talked to de gentlemen 'bout various things, but I ain't gwine tell you dat, 'case we was talkin' private.

"De same hoodoo was on us de third day, but I done feel sure de President gits a shot at a b'ar. He sholy did nearly git one dat he chased all de way from 8 to 3 o'clock.

"Den what you think dat scoun'rel b'ar do? He breaks away from de dogs and goes whoppin' acrost a ribber, and Ho knows he is done gone for good. Den I tole de gentlemen dere wan't no use goin' no funder.

CAMP A DELIGHTFUL PLACE.

"I spec,' sez de President, laffin', 'dat we ain't goiu' git no b'ar dis trip.'

"De President he took de skull of the big b'ar dat Mister Parker stick, and he say dat he take dat skull home to keep. When we gets ready to leave de camp de President was de most jolly of all de gentlemen. Dey all say we hates to leave his camp and de President say it was a d-e-l-i-g-h-t-f-u-l place, jes' like dat.

"Every people 'round here jes' like dat Colonel Roosevelt first class. He talk wif all de folks at Smedes Station, and maiks 'em his good friends.

"De ride from de camp to Smedes was de grandest dat I ever seen down hyar. Colonel Roosevelt dashed off in de lead, and I am hyar to tell you dat he set a hot pace for dem odder gentlemen. We made de whole trip 'round de woods in jes' forty minutes, as we stopped three minutes at Jackson's.

"I wants to tell you dat I hated mightily to see de President go 'way, and so did all de odders down hyar. I kin only say dat he's the finest No'the'n gentleman I ever met."

Ho said that he had lost only two of his hunting dogs, but

added mournfully that Old Remus, his champion dog, was "all swole up wid de dropsy," and probably would not live long.

Collier is known from Memphis to New Orleans for his trustworthiness. He was born in Jefferson county, three miles from Fayette, and when he grew up, during the Civil War, he was a slave, owned by Howell Hines, a prominent man of the South in those times.

Collier's grandfather, Harrison Collier, went to the battle of New Orleans with General Jackson and Thomas Hines.

Holt was only thirteen years of age when he killed his first bear, while he and his master were out on a hunt in the same region where the President went for game.

CAPTURE OF A BIG ELK.

Mr. Roosevelt narrates the killing of an elk near his ranch, "probably the last of his race that will ever be found in our neighborhood. It was just before the fall round-up. An old hunter, who was under some obligation to me, told me that he had shot a cow elk and had seen the tracks of one or two others not more than twenty-five miles off, in a place where the cattle rarely wandered. Such a chance was not to be neglected; and, on the first free day, one of my Elk-horn foremen, Will Dow by name, and myself, took our hunting horses and started off, accompanied by the ranch wagon, in the direction of the probable haunts of the doomed deer.

"Towards nightfall we struck a deep spring pool, near by the remains of an old Indian encampment. It was at the head of a great basin, several miles across, in which we believed the game to lie. The wagon was halted and we pitched camp; there was plenty of dead wood, and soon the venison steaks were broiling over the coals raked from beneath the crackling cotton-wood logs, while in the narrow valley the ponies grazed almost within the circle of the flickering fire-light. It was in the cool and pleasant month of September; and long after going to bed we lay awake under the blankets watching the stars that on clear nights always shine with such intense brightness over the lonely Western plains.

"We were up and off by the gray in the morning. It was a beautiful hunting day; the sundogs hung in the red dawn; the wind hardly stirred over the crisp grass; and though the sky was cloudless yet the weather had that queer, smoky, hazy look that it is most apt to take on during the time of the Indian summer. From a high spur of the table-land we looked out far and wide over a great stretch of broken country, the brown of whose hills and valleys was varied everywhere by patches of dull red and vivid yellow, tokens that the trees were already putting on the dress with which they greet the mortal ripening of the year.

THE GAME SIGHTED AT LAST.

"The deep and narrow but smooth ravines running up towards the edges of the plateaus were heavily wooded, the bright green tree-tops rising to a height they rarely reach in the barren plains-country; and the rocky sides of the sheer gorges were clad with a thick growth of dwarfed cedars, while here and there the trailing Virginia creepers burned crimson among their sombre masses.

"We hunted stealthily up-wind, across the line of the heavily timbered coulisse. We soon saw traces of our quarry; old tracks at first, and then the fresh footprints of a single elk—a bull, judging by the size—which had come down to drink at a miry alkali pool, its feet slipping so as to leave the marks of the false hoofs in the soft soil. We hunted with painstaking and noiseless care for many hours; at last as I led old Manitou up to look over the edge of a narrow ravine, there was a crash and movement in the timber below me, and immediately afterwards I caught a glimpse of a great bull elk trotting up through the young trees as he gallantly breasted the steep hill-side opposite.

"When clear of the woods, and directly across the valley from me, he stopped and turned half round, throwing his head in the air to gaze for a moment at the intruder. My bullet struck too far back, but, nevertheless, made a deadly wound, and the elk went over the crest of the hill at a wild, plunging gallop. We followed the bloody trail for a quarter of a mile, and found him dead in a

thicket. Though of large size, he yet had but small antlers, with few points."

There is an old Latin saying that "they do not change their characters who change their skies." To put it tersely, a man takes himself with him wherever he goes. When he crosses a river or a State line he does not leave behind him any of his personal traits. Mr. Roosevelt in the Bad Lands was in nowise different from what he had been in the East, the only modification being such as naturally grew out of new surroundings. His scholarly tendencies might have seemed grotesque on a ranch among cowboys and hunters, but he could not leave one Roosevelt in New York and develop another and different Roosevelt in the West.

KEEPS CLOSE COMPANY WITH BOOKS.

Having been a man of books he could not obliterate his personality and suddenly become a man of cattle and horses. The books must come in somewhere. To him there was nothing incompatible between hunting bears and antelope and hunting gems in the English classics. Books were his companions; while he communed with steep buttes, wild canyons and boundless prairies, he kept company with great minds and made friends of their brilliant thoughts. There was no daily mail; the letter carrier might not arrive oftner than once a week, but his coming was an advent, for he was sure to bring letters from prominent men and the latest and best issues of the publishers.

"Rough board shelves," says Mr. Roosevelt, in his charming "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," "hold a number of books without which some of the evenings would be long indeed. No ranchman who loves sport"—and nearly every one of them does—"can afford to be without Van Dyke's 'Still Hunter,' Dodge's 'Plains of the Great West,' or Caton's 'Deer and Antelope of America'; and Cones's 'Birds of the Northwest' will be valued if he cares at all for natural history. As for Irving, Hawthorne, Cooper, Lowell and the other standbys, I suppose no man, either East or West, would willingly be long without them. And for lighter reading there are dreamy Ik Marvel, Burroughs' breezy

pages, and the quaint, pathetic character sketches of the Southern writers, Cable, Craddock, Macon, Joel Chandler Harris, and sweet Sherwood Bonner. And when one is in the Bad Lands, he feels as if they somehow look just exactly as Poe's tales and poems sound."

Probably no other ranchman in all the Northwest had a stock of belongings similar to Roosevelt's. College bred men are not often found in the Bad Lands; they prefer to exhibit their culture in communities nearer the great centres of civilization and refinement. No one would be likely to obtain a university education to enable him to raise cattle and tame wild mustangs. Roosevelt, the educated cowboy, required the fellowship of books.

RECREATION AFTER THE DAY'S LABORS.

Imagine him, after a hard day's work of riding, hunting or rounding up his herds, seated in his rude yet picturesque apartment at night, eagerly perusing some historical work or volume of poems, magazine of current literature, or treatise on the animals of our hemisphere. Silence that is unbroken favors his studious frame of mind, and with evident relish he turns the pages until the fatigues of the day and the lateness of the hour furnish suggestions of sleep and the rest that comes as a blessed compensation to honest toil.

It is not difficult to sum up the advantages derived by Mr. Roosevelt from his sojourn in Dakota. He became imbued with the Western spirit. It is the spirit that knows nothing about red tape. It goes ahead and does things. There is a freedom about the great West that is the forerunner of achievement. Men do not grow old discussing how things should be done. Before you are aware of what is going on the thing is accomplished.

Somewhat of that go-ahead, impetuous spirit manifested by Mr. Roosevelt appears to have been imbibed from his life on the ranch. And this disposition is one secret of his wonderful popularity in the Western States. He is a man after their own heart, a man the people can understand and with whom they are in perfect sympathy. He never imagined when he went West that he

was taking a step which would qualify him so effectually for the office he now occupies, one that cannot in any sense be limited to any one section of the country. A President should be so constituted that he can be in close touch with all parts of the Union.

It is but natural that Mr. Roosevelt's most devoted followers and friends should be found among the breezy spirits of the great West. When he called for a regiment of Rough Riders at the outbreak of our war with Spain, it was easy enough to enlist the men; Roosevelt was to be the lieutenant colonel.

It is further to be noted that his western life gave him much information on the Indian problem, and furnished him materials for thoroughly investigating this question and reaching an intelligent conclusion.

EQUAL RIGHTS AND JUSTICE TO ALL.

The white men had as good a claim to land as the Indians, for it was government land, and by the Homestead Law any settler could secure 160 acres and along with it a valid title. There was no good reason why an Indian should lay claim to a whole county, compared with the size of which the white man's farm was nothing more than an Irishman's garden patch.

In his usual vigorous way Mr. Roosevelt says: "The Indians should be treated in just the same way that we treat the white settlers. Give each his claim to a quarter-section. If, as generally happens, he should decline this, then let him share the fate of the thousands of white hunters who have lived on the game that the settlement of the country has exterminated, and let him, like these whites who will not work, perish from the face of the earth which he encumbers.

"The doctrine seems merciless, and so it is. But it is just and rational, for all that. It does not do to be too merciful to the few at the cost of justice to the many. The cattlemen at least keep herds and build houses on the land. Yet I would not for a moment debar settlers from the right of entry to the cattle country though their coming in means the destruction of us and our industry."

CHAPTER XXIV

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S FAMOUS ROUGH RIDERS.

REGIMENT RECRUITED AT SAN ANTONIO—MEN FROM THE TERRITORIES AND FROM THE EAST—GREAT DIVERSITY OF CHARACTER AND SOCIAL POSITION — COWBOYS AND INDIANS — COLLEGE GRADUATES—FAMOUS ATHLETES—RIGID DISCIPLINE—HURRYING PREPARATIONS—JOURNEY TO TAMPA—VEXATIOUS DELAYS—LACK OF MANAGEMENT—ON BOARD THE "YUCATAN"—VOYAGE TO SANTIAGO—LANDING THE TROOPS ON CUBAN SOIL.

WHEN Mr. Roosevelt resolved to have a hand in the impending war, he did not seek a position in the navy. As well posted as he was on all naval matters, he was not a seaman. He was a landsman and not a sailor. He could steer a bucking mustang, but not a ship. He was to do his fighting on land, and, naturally, his mind turned toward the hardy ranchmen and dashing cowboys he had known in the West. He believed that if he could organize a regiment of these brave fellows he could render a service that would help to crown our arms with glory.

He applied for a commission in the army of volunteers that hurried forward to meet the call of President McKinley. To the remonstrances of friends and Washington officials, who declared he was more needed in the Navy Department than anywhere else, he turned a deaf ear. He had rendered invaluable service in placing the navy in the best possible condition for the approaching struggle, and was resolved now to follow our flag to the battlefield.

Preliminaries were soon arranged. He passed a good physical examination, and was sworn into service by General Corbin. As soon as it was announced that he was to organize a regiment and go with it to the front his office presented a strange scene. All sorts of men from all sorts of places came to make application for a chance to serve in the ranks. They clamored, they used all the arts of persuasion, they set up against one another a fierce

rivalry, so eager were these loyal sons of the nation to honor the flag and prove their patriotism.

Some of them were rough-looking cowboys who had hurried to Washington to make sure of being accepted. They had the air, the dress, the bold demeanor of men who had shot big game, chased wild steers, tried conclusions with Indians, and their tall athletic figures, broad brims and bronzed faces made them very conspicuous, and indicated that, with their experiences of western life and hardships, they would make formidable fighters.

VOLUNTEERS FROM HIGHEST SOCIAL RANKS.

In marked contrast with these, others were the sons of well-known families, who had been reared in wealth and luxury. They came from homes of refinement, and not a few were educated young men and graduates of colleges. As Mr. Roosevelt is a graduate of Harvard, many from that institution wished to follow him and try the fortunes of war. Indeed, he could not help querying whether these noble sons of distinguished sires had stopped to count the cost of a soldier's life in active service, or realized its hardships and dangers.

Among others, were three or four policemen from New York, who had known Roosevelt when he was their chief, and could not now resist the fascination of a life of heroism under such a leader. It was evident that he could have raised an army of 50,000 men on short notice if he could have been appointed commander.

From the outset Mr. Roosevelt objected to the designation of "Rough Riders" being given in advance to the regiment of mounted rifles. "The objection to that term," he said, "is that people who read the newspapers may get the impression that the regiment is to be a hippodrome affair. Those who get that idea will discover that it is a mistake. The regiment may be one of rough riders, but they will be as orderly, obedient, and generally well-disciplined a body as any equal number of men in any branch of the service. But they will not make a show. They go out for business, and when they do business no one will entertain for a moment the notion that they are part of a show."

"Some persons," wrote Mr. Byron P. Stephenson, at this time, "were inclined to sneer at Theodore Roosevelt for deserting his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, where his services were of the greatest value to the country. There is something humorous in the idea of a man of forty and the father of six children raising a troop of cowboys, hunting men, and mounted policemen, and going as its second in command to fight the Spaniards. Mr. Roosevelt is not lacking in a sense of humor, and probably sees the comical side of the situation as well as any one. But Theodore Roosevelt is an anachronism. He belongs not to the dawn of the twentieth century, but to the mediæval days. He was cut out for a crusader. He is always ready to fight for an idea. He would have delighted Cœur de Lion."

EXPLOITS OF MOUNTED HEROES.

Our country's history affords some parallels to the unique character of the Rough Riders. "Old Hickory" at New Orleans led an army of brave fighters; Kit Carson's rangers were famous in their day; so were Captain May's mounted heroes in the Mexican war. If the leader can be found the men can also be found who are fashioned for valorous exploits. We rather frown upon what in common phrase is called the dare-devil spirit, but there may be emergencies and crises when it means victory.

Mr. Roosevelt had been schooled somewhat in military tactics before he prepared to take the field. In 1884 he was a lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment of the National Guard of New York. He remained with the regiment more than four years, and rose to the rank of captain. President McKinley offered to make him colonel of the Rough Riders, and doubtless he would have accepted the commission if he had considered himself sufficiently versed in military tactics to make a competent commander.

His reply was, "I am not fitted to command a regiment for I have no recent military training. Later, after I have gained some experience, perhaps that may come." Not only did he reach the position of colonel, but his gallantry and heroic services were recognized by a medal of honor.

Dr. Leonard Wood, of Massachusetts, was appointed colonel. He was a captain and assistant surgeon of regulars, doing duty at the time in personal attendance on the President and Secretary of War. Roosevelt was made lieutenant-colonel. The two men had never met until Colonel Wood was called to Washington, but there was so much in common between them that they soon became fast friends. Each was a sturdy specimen of physical manhood; each was a man of high resolves and noble ideals; each was a thorough American, imbued with our national spirit; each was eager for active service in the war. These two men formed a host in themselves.

KIND WORDS FOR COLONEL WOOD.

Mr. Roosevelt published in "Scribner's Magazine" the following appreciative notice of Colonel Wood:

"He had served in General Miles' inconceivably harassing campaigns against the Apaches, where he had displayed such courage that he won that most coveted of distinctions—the medal of honor; such extraordinary physical strength and endurance that he grew to be recognized as one of the two or three white men who could stand fatigue and hardship as well as an Apache; and such judgment that toward the close of the campaigns he was given, though a surgeon, the actual command of more than one expedition against the bands of renegade Indians. Like so many of the gallant fighters with whom it was later my good fortune to serve, he combined, in a very high degree, the qualities of entire manliness with entire uprightness and cleanliness of character.

"It was a pleasure to deal with a man of high ideals, who scorned everything mean and base, and who also possessed those robust and hardy qualities of body and mind for the lack of which no merely negative virtue can ever atone. He was by nature a soldier of the highest type, and, like most natural soldiers, he was, of course, born with a keen longing for adventure; and, though an excellent doctor, what he really desired was the chance to lead men in some kind of hazard."

Wood and Roosevelt proceeded to San Antonio, Texas, where

the regiment was to be recruited. It was expected that most of the recruits would be western plainsmen, cowboys and ranchmen, who were used to the rifle, the bucking horse, the hardships of frontier life, many of whom had known Mr. Roosevelt during his hunting excursions in the West and his visits to his ranch. Men were already on the ground from Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and others soon arrived from Indian Territory.

QUICK RESPONSE FROM CALL TO ARMS.

The call to arms had been heard through all these vast regions, and there came a quick response from just the men who were wanted for a military organization that was intended for special service. At first thought one might imagine that men so imbued with the spirit of adventure would never submit themselves to the exacting discipline required by their officers. Every one was a fighter on his own hook, but they had the intelligence and the instinct to see that strict discipline was essential to the highest efficiency, and that the grandest quality of a soldier is obedience to orders. It did not take long to get this rough material into shape.

As to arms, the best were chosen for the purpose. There were six shooters, carbines and Cuban machetes. The latter resembled the old-fashioned bushhook, known to farmers and woodsmen in clearing the ground of bushes and cutting roads through thickets and underbrush. In a hand-to-hand combat the machete is a most effective weapon, more so than the regular cavalry sabre, which, in this instance, it displaced. It was thought that it would be especially serviceable in the jungles and thickets so common to Cuba.

Speaking of the men who composed the regiment, Mr. Roosevelt said, in a speech, after arriving at his home at Oyster Bay, Long Island:

"We had in our regiment the man who was born in Maine, and the man who was born in Oregon, the man who had been brought up in one of the great States of the east and the man who had lived where he had never seen a great city and rarely a

town of more than one hundred people. We had the man of the sea coast and we had also the man who had never seen more water than was contained in the Pecos when the Pecos was 'up'; and it was one of the latter class whom I heard on one occasion, when his hat had blown off in midocean, chronicle the event to one of his comrades by saying, 'Oh, Jim! my hat blew into the crick!' To him the Atlantic was simply an unusually large creek."

Western men are fond of nicknames, and "Laughing Horse" was the name given Roosevelt. This gave rise to the following humorous verses by H. W. Phillips, which greatly pleased the cowboys:

"THE ROUGH RIDING BRIGADE."

"So, Teddy, you've come to your own again!

I thought it was mighty strange

That you had forgotten the good old times

And the friends of the cattle range.

But now the old gun has been polished up,

And I'm ready to cross the sea

And ride with you, Teddy Roosevelt!

Old 'Laughing Horse' for me!

"Together we've ridden the range, my lad,

And slept on the ground o' night;

And you were the boy for a high old time,

A cuss in a stand-up fight.

Besides, you were square as a die, old pard,

And all that a man should be.

So I'm with you, Teddy Roosevelt,

Old 'Laughing Horse' for me!

"The boys have just whooped to your call, my lad,

From the hot desert Texan trail

To where the wild yell of the blizzard's sweep

Makes mock of the coyote's wail.

Now, I don't know what the row's all about,

But my trail lies before me plain;

For, Teddy, you've said that the thing to do

Is to wallop the hide off Spain."

The whole country was deeply interested in Roosevelt's new regiment, and, indeed, was not a little amused. All accounts concerning it were eagerly read, and the universal opinion was that under his leadership the Rough Riders would be the heroes of the war. It seemed an odd spectacle for the sons of old aristocratic families of the East to be fighting side by side with the dare-devil horsemen and cattle herders of the plains. But a common cause annihilates all outward distinctions and welds men together like bands of steel. All sorts of characters and from all ranks of life helped to make up this unique regiment, and the very pride the men felt in their organization, and the determination that it should render a good account of itself was all that was needed to ensure order, faithful drilling and punctilious attention to every duty.

LEADERS TRIED AND TRUE.

"There was Bucky O'Neill, of Arizona, Captain of Troop A, the Mayor of Prescott, a famous sheriff throughout the West, for his feats of victorious warfare against the Apache, no less than against the white road agents and men-killers. His father had fought in Meagher's Brigade in the Civil War, and he himself a born soldier, a leader of men. He was a wild, reckless fellow, soft-spoken, and of dauntless courage and boundless ambition; he was staunchly loyal to his friends, and cared for his own men in every way.

"There was Captain Llewellyn, of New Mexico, a good citizen, a political leader, and one of the most noted peace officers of the country; he had been shot four times in pitched fights with red marauders and white outlaws. There was Lieutenant Ballard, who had broken up the Black Jack gang, of ill-omened notoriety, and his captain, Curry, another New Mexican sheriff of fame. The officers from the Indian Territory had almost all served as marshals and deputy marshals; and in the Indian Territory service as a deputy marshal meant capacity to fight stand-up battles with gangs of outlaws.

"Three of our highest officers had been in the regular army. One was Major Alexander Brodie, from Arizona, afterward

lieutenant-colonel, who had lived for twenty years in the Territory, and had become a thorough westerner without sinking the West Pointer—a soldier by taste as well as training, whose men worshipped him and would follow him everywhere, as they would Bucky O'Neill or any other of their favorites. Brodie was running a big mining business, but when the "Maine" was blown up he abandoned everything and telegraphed right and left to bid his friends get ready for the fight he saw impending.

BEST SOLDIER OF THE REGIMENT.

"There was Micah Jenkins, the captain of Troop K, a gentle and courteous South Carolinian, on whom danger acted like wine. In action he was a perfect gamecock, and he won his majority for gallantry in battle. Finally, there was Allyn Capron, who was, on the whole, the best soldier in the regiment. In fact, I think he was the ideal of what an American army officer should be. He was the fifth in descent from father to son who had served in the Army of the United States, and, in body and mind alike he was fitted to play his part to perfection. Tall and lithe, a remarkable boxer and walker, a first-class rider and shot, with yellow hair and piercing blue eyes, he looked what he was—the archetype of the fighting man. He had under him one of the two companies from the Indian Territory, and he so soon impressed himself upon the wild spirit of his followers that he got them ahead in discipline faster than any other troop in the regiment, while at the same time taking care of their bodily wants.

"His ceaseless effort was so to train them, care for them, and so inspire them as to bring their fighting efficiency to the highest possible pitch. He required instant obedience, and tolerated not the slightest evasion of duty; but his mastery of his art was so thorough and his performance of his own duty so rigid that he won at once not merely their admiration, but that soldierly affection so readily given by the man in the ranks to the superior who cares for his men and leads them fearlessly in battle."

Of course, in this strange gathering of men who had been used to a free life in the plains there were some adventurers.

There were gamblers who would stake the last cent and even their top boots on the chances of a game. There were lawless youths who were emulating the exploits of dime novel heroes. There were outlaws, already notorious for misdeeds, and the law officers who had chased them. Several were Baptist and Methodist clergymen with reputations either good or doubtful, but who were fine fighters. The men, however, whose reputations were somewhat dubious were the exceptions. The majority were the bold, brave, honest and hardy frontiersmen, whose special mission is to blaze the way for advancing civilization.

A BRAVE PAWNEE INDIAN.

Indians were among the recruits—Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws and others. A Pawnee Indian, known as Pollock, was one of the bravest fighters and most reliable men in the regiment. Having been well educated in an eastern school, and being a natural penman, he was made regimental clerk when the Rough Riders reached Santiago. It was a remarkable spectacle—remnants of the old Indian tribes fighting for the nation that for generations has been driving them toward the setting sun.

Colonel Roosevelt felt quite as much pride in his western recruits as he did in the club men, society devotees and college graduates of the east. Yet these men from old families, who had never leveled a rifle in pursuit of game or rounded up a herd of cattle or tramped over praries or braved the dangers of the wild frontiers, were not a bit less courageous or daring in the hour of battle than the headlong riders that came pouring into San Antonio.

Among others whose families were well known, one of the gallant fighters was Hamilton Fish, Jr., who lost his life at Santiago. The list of eastern recruits numbered such men as William Tiffany, Woodbury Kane, Townsend Burden, Jr., and Craig Wadsworth, who was a leader in the Genesee Valley Hunt Club and the son of a wealthy and distinguished family. Tiffany was grandnephew of Commodore Perry, the hero of the battle of Lake Erie, whose bravery, resulting in that notable

victory, is one of the grandest achievements written in our country's history.

There were also men who had been famous college athletes, whose endurance and pluck had been tested on the football field at Princeton and in the Varsity crew at Harvard. College oarsmen, football players, runners and noted scholars were among the hardy cavalymen who eagerly embraced the opportunity to prove their prowess and patriotism under the leadership of Roosevelt.

"Of course such a regiment, in spite of—or, I might almost say, because of—the characteristics which made the individual men exceptionally formidable as soldiers, could very easily have been spoiled. Any weakness in the command would have ruined it. On the other hand, to treat it from the standpoint of the martinet and military pedant would have been almost equally fatal. From the beginning we started out to secure the essentials of discipline, while laying just as little stress as possible on the non-essentials. The men were singularly quick to respond to any appeal to their intelligence and patriotism. The faults they committed were those due to ignorance only.

OFF-HAND WAYS IN CAMP.

"When Holderman, in announcing dinner to the colonel and the three majors, genially remarked, 'If you fellows don't come soon every thing'll get cold,' he had no thought of other than a kindly regard for their welfare, and was glad to modify his form of address on being told that it was not what could be described as conventionally military. When one of our sentinels who had with much labor learned the manual of arms saluted with great pride as I passed, and added, with a friendly nod, 'good evening, colonel,' this variation in the accepted formula on such occasions was meant and was accepted as mere friendly interest. In both cases the needed instruction was given and received in the same kindly spirit.

"One of the new Indian Territory recruits, after twenty-four hours' stay in camp, during which he had steadily held himself from the general interests, called on the colonel in his tent and

remarked, 'Well, colonel, I want to shake hands and say we're with you. We didn't know how we would like you fellows at first, but you're all right; you know your business and you mean business, and you can count on us every time.'

"That same night, which was hot, mosquitoes were very annoying, and shortly after midnight both the colonel and I came to the doors of our respective tents, which adjoined one another. The sentinel in front was also fighting mosquitoes. As we came out we saw him pitch his gun about ten feet off and sit down to attack some of the pests which had swarmed up his trousers' leg. Happening to glance in our direction he nodded pleasantly, and, with unabashed and friendly feeling, remarked, 'Ain't they bad?'"

NO RED TAPE FOR THE COLONEL.

It was something to get the men for the new regiment, but this was only a part of what was required. What are men without equipments? And with the slow motions of the War Department at Washington, and the ridiculous solicitude for red tape in that branch of the government, what immediate prospect was there for arming the regiment, furnishing horses and other supplies and getting away to the front? The manner in which Colonel Roosevelt ignored red tape was little less than amusing. Instead of the red tape helping the department to go ahead and accomplish something, the department was all wound around and tied up with it.

To all intents and purposes Colonel Roosevelt organized himself into a war department, and, whether anyone to this day knows how he did it, he equipped the Rough Riders in an incredibly short space of time, and saved at least one month when a month meant vastly more than thirty days. The regiment was soon placed in fighting trim. The cowboys, dudes and aristocrats understood one another perfectly. The men were all agreed upon one thing, and that was enough—they had enlisted to fight, and all they wanted was the chance.

The Ordnance Bureau at Washington thought freight trains

were fast enough for sending equipments to San Antonio. The supplies would get there some time or other. Colonel Roosevelt demanded express trains. Even these were sufficiently slow to satisfy the dilatory nature of men who always excuse their delays on the ground of "getting a good ready." When the rifles, revolvers and saddles reached the regiment it was immediately ordered to Tampa, Florida, whence it was to be transported to Cuba.

The journey to Tampa required four days. The officers and men numbered upwards of nine hundred, and besides these there were forty expert mule packers, nine hundred and sixty horses and one hundred and ninety-two mules. A party of Cubans at Scranton, Miss., presented themselves to Colonel Wood and offered their services, too, but it was found impossible to take them. The conduct of the troops suggested a pleasure excursion rather than a march to the battlefield, and although the journey was a wearisome one it was borne with unfailing good nature and a disposition to make light of all hardships.

MILLIONAIRES IN THE REGIMENT.

Troop K included among its members millionaires and the sons of many wealthy families. It was commanded by Lieutenant John M. Jenkins, who was formerly first lieutenant in the United States Fifth Cavalry. It may be mentioned in this connection that John Jacob Astor, of New York, equipped a battery and presented it to our government, enlisting at the same time and receiving a commission as lieutenant. Mr. Astor had nothing of the character of an adventurer; he was actuated by a patriotic desire to serve our country in her hour of need.

The Rough Riders left San Antonio May 29, 1898, and arrived at Tampa June 2d, where they pitched their tents and made themselves as comfortable as they could under a broiling sun. Already they had learned that the life of a soldier is not an easy one, but there was no murmur of complaint. Only once was there any expression of dissatisfaction. They had been told that orders would be issued immediately for the regiment to be transported to

Cuba, but four troops, with all the horses, would have to remain behind. This was a bitter disappointment. In describing it Colonel Roosevelt said: "I saw more than one among the officers and privates burst into tears when he found he could not go."

The want of good management was plainly evident at Tampa. An army of 15,367 officers and men, under command of General Shafter, were to embark on transports, bound for Santiago. After searching half a day to ascertain what transport had been assigned to the Rough Riders, it was found that they were to go on board the "Yucatan," yet two other regiments had been assigned to this ship. By quick work on the part of Colonels Wood and Roosevelt, the transport was brought in from mid-stream and the Rough Riders turned themselves into pack horses, carrying tents, commissary stores and accoutrements on their backs down the long quay. Once on board they were packed in like sardines.

GLAD TO ESCAPE FROM TAMPA.

Such delays and inconveniences were trifling matters to men who were not there for pleasure, and there was no faultfinding or grumbling. As might have been expected, the "Yucatan" was the first transport that pushed away from the pier. But the order to sail had not been received, and the departure was delayed for a whole week. The order came on the evening of June 13th, and with flags flying, men cheering, bands playing, the ships started for their destination. With all the discomforts occasioned by overcrowding on the "Yucatan," the men were more comfortable than they had been on the low plains and hot sands at Tampa.

The fleet presented a most picturesque spectacle. The transports were convoyed by all sorts of vessels—battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats and converted yachts. The mounts of the Rough Riders were left at Tampa, and they were assigned to infantry duty. The voyage was devoid of exciting incidents, and at noon, on June 20th, the transports arrived off Santiago de Cuba, and preparations were made at once for landing. This required two days. The troops were put ashore at Daiquiri, seventeen miles east of Santiago.

CHAPTER XXV

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

ROUGH RIDERS IN CUBA—BATTLE OF LA GUASIMAS—GALLANTRY OF REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS—CAPTAIN CAPRON AND SERGEANT FISH—REPORT OF GENERAL WHEELER—PERSONAL BRAVERY OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT—PLUNGES INTO THE THICK OF THE FIGHT—INCIDENT SHOWING HIS DEVOTION TO HIS MEN—ROOSEVELT'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN JUAN—CARE FOR THE WOUNDED

THE Rough Riders, having landed in Cuba, were eager for battle. Tired, often hungry, oppressed by the extreme heat, they were displaying grand powers of endurance, and were almost impatient to prove their courage in the face of the foe.

They had unbounded confidence in their leaders. They knew they would not be expected to go into any danger without finding their commanders there before them. Entirely unacquainted with the ground they occupied, unused to the thickets, tall grass and dense undergrowths of the country, they did not shirk from any difficulties, or try to escape any obstacles or perils that beset their forward march. All they wanted was to find the Spaniards.

Colonel Roosevelt made a special request of General Shafter that his men should be allowed to join the advance column, and the request was granted. These brave fighters had no idea of crawling along in the rear; they would have regarded any other place except in the front ranks as a reflection upon their competency and courage. There was no delay in ordering an advance, and on Wednesday night, June 22d, the column had reached Demajayabo. The next day it arrived at Juragua, which was hastily evacuated by the Spaniards without risking an engagement. Pushing on, our troops gained a point within eight miles of Santiago, on Friday morning, June 24th.

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

Here it was ascertained that the enemy was in front and not far away. The sound of their axes, cutting down trees for defenses, could be plainly heard. A company of Cuban scouts, who had joined our forces, was sent ahead to find out the exact situation. They had not proceeded far before firing began, and bullets flew thick around them. They dropped on the ground and returned the fire, protecting themselves as well as they could in the bushes. This was the signal for an advance by the Rough Riders and regulars, led by Colonel Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, and thus began the first fighting in the attack upon Santiago.

The raw troops were ready for the battle and behaved like veterans. They were the kind of men who could easily learn the art of war. They knew far less about retreating than about advancing. The Spaniards used smokeless powder, and could be located in the bushes only by the flashes of their guns. The exigencies of warfare were entirely new. There was no such thing as an open fight on well chosen ground with one army arranged in order against the other. The thickets were so dense and the Spaniards were so fully concealed that it was reported our troops were drawn into ambush.

RAW TROOPS ACTED LIKE VETERANS.

But this could not have been true, for the column knew well enough that the foe was in front although skilfully concealed.

Two of the bravest of our men were lost in this engagement. Sergeant Hamilton Fish, Jr., was the first to fall. He was firing over the Spanish defenses when a bullet struck him and he sank down at the foot of a tree, while a number of his comrades gathered around him. As he faced danger and fought with unflinching courage, so did all the volunteers who had left their palatial homes and offered their services in Cuba.

Another who fell mortally wounded was Captain Capron, who has already been mentioned. He was an officer of splendid ability, who could be trusted in every emergency, and his death was a loss that was keenly felt. When the fatal shot struck him he sank down upon the ground and soon asked "how the boys

were fighting." Being assured that they were doing bravely he raised himself and resting on his arm said, "I'm going to see this thing out." Sergeant Bell was standing by his side. "Give me your gun a minute," he said to the sergeant. Upon receiving it he kneeled down and fired twice. At each shot a Spaniard was seen to fall. He was courageous to the last. After sending tender messages to his wife and father he breathed his last and was borne from the field. All the Rough Riders who fell in battle were buried on Cuban soil.

Full details of our military operations may be gathered from official reports. General Wheeler, who was commander-in-chief of the cavalry, reported as follows:

"IN CAMP, JARAGUA, June 29th.

"TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE FIFTH ARMY CORPS:

"SIR—I have the honor to report that, in obedience to the instructions of the major general commanding, given me in person on June 23d, I proceeded to Siboney. The enemy had evacuated the place at daylight that morning, taking a course toward Sevilla. A body of about one hundred Cubans had followed and engaged the enemy's rear guard. About nine of them were wounded.

DETERMINED TO MAKE AN ATTACK.

"I rode out to the front and found the enemy had halted and established themselves at a point about three miles from Siboney. At night the Cubans returned to the vicinity of the town. At eight o'clock that evening, the 23d, General Young reached Siboney with eight troops of Colonel Wood's regiment, A, B, D, E, F, G, K and L, five hundred strong; troops A, B, C and K, of the First regular cavalry, in all 244 men; and troops A, B, E and I, of the Tenth cavalry, in all 220 men, making the total force, 964 men, which included nearly all of my command which had marched from Baiquiri, eleven miles.

"With the assistance of General Castillo a rough map of the country was prepared and the position of the enemy was fully

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

explained, and I determined to make an attack at daylight on the 24th. Colonel Wood's regiment was sent by General Young, accompanied by two of his staff officers, Lieutenants Tyrree R. Rivers and W. R. Smedburg, Jr., to approach the enemy on the left hand, or more westerly road, while General Young, myself and about fifty troops of the First and Tenth cavalry, with three Hotchkiss mountain guns, approached the enemy on the regular Sevilla road.

OPENING OF THE FIGHT WITH ARTILLERY.

"General Young and myself examined the position of the enemy, the lines were deployed and I directed him to open fire with the Hotchkiss guns. The enemy replied and the firing immediately became general. Colonel Wood had deployed his right, nearly reaching to the left of the regulars. For an hour the fight was very warm, the enemy being very lavish in expenditure of ammunition, most of their firing being by volleys. Finally the enemy gave way and retreated rapidly, our side keeping well closed up on them ; but our men being physically exhausted by both their exertions and the great heat, were incapable of maintaining the pursuit.

"I cannot speak too highly of the gallant and excellent conduct of the officers and men throughout my command. General Young deserves special commendation for his cool, deliberate and skilful management. I also specially noticed his acting adjutant general, Lieutenant A. L. Mills, who, under General Young's direction, was at various parts of the line, acting with energy and cool courage.

"The imperative necessity of disembarking with promptitude had impelled me to leave most of my staff to hasten this important matter, and unfortunately I only had with me Major W. D. Beach and Mr. Mestro, an acting volunteer aid, both of whom during the engagement creditably and bravely performed their duties. I am especially indebted to Major Beach for his cool and good judgment.

Colonel Wood's regiment was on the extreme left of the line

and too far distant for me to be a personal witness of the individual conduct of the officers and men ; but the magnificent bravery shown by the regiment under the lead of Colonel Wood testifies to his courage and skill and the energy and determination of his officers, which have been marked from the moment he reported to me at Tampa, Fla., and I have abundant evidence of his brave and good conduct on the field, and I recommend him for the consideration of the government. I must rely upon his report to do justice to his officers and men, but I desire personally to add that all I have said regarding Colonel Wood applies equally to Colonel Roosevelt."

"There must have been nearly fifteen hundred Spaniards in front and to the side of us," said Colonel Roosevelt just after the fight. "They held the ridges with rifle pits and machine guns, and hid a body of men in ambush in the thick jungle at the sides of the road over which we were advancing. Our advance guard struck the men in ambush and drove them out. But they lost Captain Capron, Lieutenant Thomas and about fifteen men killed or wounded.

ACCURATE AND HEAVY FIRING BY THE SPANIARDS.

"The Spanish firing was accurate, so accurate indeed that it surprised me, and their firing was fearfully heavy. I want to say a word for our own men," continued Colonel Roosevelt. "Every officer and man did his duty up to the hilt. Not a man flinched."

From another officer who took a prominent part in the fighting, more details were obtained. "When the firing began," said he, "Colonel Roosevelt took the right wing with Troops G and K, under Captains Llewelyn and Jenkins, and moved to the support of Captain Capron, who was getting it hard. At the same time Colonel Wood and Major Brodie took the left wing and advanced in open order on the Spanish right wing. Major Brodie was wounded before the troops had advanced one hundred yards. Colonel Wood then took the right wing and shifted Colonel Roosevelt to the left.

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

"In the meantime the fire of the Spaniards had increased in volume, but, notwithstanding this, an order for a general charge was given, and with a yell the men sprang forward. Colonel Roosevelt, in front of his men, snatched a rifle and ammunition belt from a wounded soldier, and, cheering and yelling with his men, led the advance. In a moment the bullets were singing like a swarm of bees all around them, and every instant some poor fellow went down. On the right wing Captain McClintock had his leg broken by a bullet from a machine gun, while four of his men went down. At the same time Captain Luna lost nine of his men. Then the reserves were ordered up.

FURIOUS CHARGE BY BOTH WINGS.

"There was no more hesitation. Colonel Wood, with the right wing, charged straight at a blockhouse eight hundred yards away, and Colonel Roosevelt, on the left, charged at the same time. Up the men went, yelling like fiends and never stopping to return the fire of the Spaniards, but keeping on with a grim determination to capture the blockhouse.

"That charge was the end. When within five hundred yards of the coveted post the Spaniards broke and ran, and for the first time we had the pleasure, which the Spaniards had been experiencing all through the engagement, of shooting with the enemy in sight."

All the Rough Riders spoke in the highest terms of the gallant conduct of Colonel Roosevelt during the engagement. He was always at the front and cheered his men to deserved victory. He did not take account of danger, but set a bold example of unflinching courage to all his men. He made it plain that in his view of the case the Rough Riders were at the seat of war to fight; they were not out to have a dress parade and show their uniforms. Colonel Roosevelt's conviction that war meant business, and not play, was infused into every man in his command.

An incident illustrating Colonel Roosevelt's devotion to the men of his regiment was told by Trooper Burkholder, of the Rough Riders, who joined the regiment from Phoenix, Arizona.

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

Burkholder was all through the active campaign with the Rough Riders, and returned with them to Camp Wikoff. He was away on furlough on account of a slight attack of swamp fever when the Rough Riders were mustered out, and thus missed, as he puts it, "an opportunity to say good-bye to the most gallant commander and the truest man that a soldier was ever privileged to fight under."

"Only us few men who were with him," said Burkholder, "know how considerate he was of us at all times. There was one case in particular that illustrates this better than I can recall. It happened after the fight at La Quasina. The men were tired with the hard march and the fighting, and hunger was gnawing at every stomach. Besides, we had our first men killed there, and, taking it all in all, we were in an ugly humor. The usual shouting, cracking of jokes, and snatches of song were missing, and everybody appeared to be in the dumps.

SOLDIERS ENCOURAGED BY BEEF STEW.

"Well, things hadn't improved a bit—in fact, were getting worse along toward meal time—when the colonel began to move about among the men, speaking encouragingly to each group. I guess he saw something was up, and no doubt he made up his mind then and there to improve at least the humor of the men. There's an old saying that a man can best be reached through his stomach, and I guess he believes in that maxim. Shortly afterward we saw the colonel, his cook, and two of the troopers of Company I strike out along the narrow road toward the town, and we wondered what was up.

"It was probably an hour or so after this, and during a little resting spell in our work of clearing and making things a little camp-like, that the savory and almost forgotten odor of beef stew began to sweep through the clearing. Men who were working stopped short and began to sniff, and those who had stopped work for a breathing spell forgot to breath for a second. Soon they joined in the sniffing, and I'll wager every one of us was sniffing as hard as he knew how. Oh, but didn't that smell fine! We

weren't sure that it was for us, but we had a smell of it anyway. Quickly drooping spirits revived, and as the fumes of the boiling stew became stronger the humor of the men improved. We all jumped to our work with a will, and picks, shovels and axes were plied in race-horse fashion, while the men would stop now and then to raise their heads and draw a long breath and exclaim: 'Wow! but that smells good.'

"We were finally summoned to feed, and then you can imagine our surprise. There was a big boiler, and beside it a crowd of messtent men dishing out real beef stew! We could hardly believe our eyes, and I had to taste mine first to make sure it wasn't a dream. You should have seen the expressions on the faces of the men as they gulped down that stew, and we all laughed when one New York man yelled out: 'And it's got real onions in it, too!'

THE COST OF THAT DINNER TO ROOSEVELT.

"After we had loaded up we began to wonder where it all came from, and then the two Troop I men told how the colonel had purchased the potatoes and onions while his own cook secured the meat from Siboney.

"You probably won't believe it, but the bushel of potatoes cost Colonel Roosevelt almost \$60, and he had to pay thirty odd good American dollars to get the onions; but then he knew what his men wanted, and it was always his men first with him. There was a rush to his tent when we learned this, and if you ever heard the cheering I'm sure you wouldn't wonder why the Rough Riders all love their colonel.

"I see," said Burkholder, "that in his address to the men at Camp Wikoff the colonel told how he had to hurry at the San Juan Hill fight to save himself from being run over by the men. That's just like him to say that; but he probably forgets that more than half of the men never ran so fast before and never will again, as they had to run to keep up with him. If Colonel Roosevelt lived in Arizona we would give him any office he wanted without any election nonsense."

THE HERO OF THE BATTLEFIELD.

Writing of this battle, a newspaper correspondent said :

"Everybody has perfect faith in the American regular, and knows what he can and what he will ever do. General Young did, then, what the nation knew he would do, and his colored troopers fought bravely and well. But the interest of the fight would centre in the gallant conduct of Roosevelt's Rough Riders—or Wood's Weary Walkers, as they were dubbed at Tampa after their horses were taken from under them. Never was there a more representative body of men on American soil; never was there a body of such varied elements; and yet it was so easily welded into an effective fighting machine that a foreigner would not know that they were not as near brothers in blood, character, occupation, mutual faith and long companionship as any volunteer regiment that ever took the field.

BIG GAME HUNTER AND COWBOY.

"The dominant element was the big game hunter and cowboy, Colonel Roosevelt, and every field officer and captain had at one time or another owned a ranch. The majority came from Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, though every State in the Union was represented. There were graduates of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Cornell, University of Virginia, of Pennsylvania, of Colorado, of Iowa and other Western and Southern colleges. There were members of the Knickerbocker Club of New York, and the Somerset of Boston, and of crack horse organizations of Philadelphia, New York and New Jersey. There were revenue officers from Georgia and Tennessee, police from New York city, six or eight deputy marshals from Colorado, half a dozen Texan Rangers, and one Pawnee, several Cherokees and Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks.

"There were men of all political faiths, all creeds—Catholics, Protestants and Jews. There was one strapping Australian and one of the Queen's mounted police, though ninety per cent. of all were native born Americans. Roosevelt's Rough Riders go as Roosevelt's in fact as well as in name. Colonel Roosevelt has made his word of peace good in war."

CHAPTER XXVI

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

IN THE FIGHT AT SAN JUAN—COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S WONDERFUL CHARGE—PRAISES THE GALLANTRY OF HIS TROOPERS—STORY OF TROOPER ROWLAND—CREDIT DUE THE REGULARS—ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLES BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION—PRIVATIONS OF THE SOLDIERS—A BORN FIGHTER—STORY OF TROOPER JOHNSON—MORE CASUALTIES AMONG ROUGH RIDERS THAN REGULARS—GENERAL WHEELER ON SPANISH DEFENSES.

ALL accounts of the battle of La Guasimas (so called from a nut-bearing tree of this name), and the subsequent fight of San Juan, contain abundant evidence that the leader of the Rough Riders was a host in himself and did more than any other commander to win the victory, as may be seen from the incidents attending the engagements, and from the testimony of the troopers who took an active part in the struggle.

Said an officer of high rank : "I cannot speak too highly of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. He is every inch a fighter, and led a charge of dismounted cavalry against men in pits at San Juan successfully. It was a wonderful charge, and showed Roosevelt's grit. I was not there, but I have been told of it repeatedly by those who saw the colonel on the Hill."

Two reports made by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to his superior officer in front of Santiago in July were given out by the War Department in Washington, December 22, 1898. Both reports describe the operations of the Rough Riders in the battle of San Juan, the second telling a much fuller story.

In his first report, dated July 4th, he mentions by name many of the troopers who distinguished themselves by their bravery. This part of the report, which was made by Roosevelt, as lieuten-

ant-colonel in charge of the regiment, to Colonel Wood, temporarily in charge of the brigade, was as follows :

"We went into the fight about four hundred and ninety strong. Eighty-six were killed or wounded and there are half a dozen missing. The great heat prostrated nearly forty men, some of them among the best in the regiment. Besides Captain O'Neill and Lieutenant Haskell, who were killed, Lieutenants Leahy, Devereaux and Case were wounded. All behaved with great gallantry. As for Captain O'Neill, his loss is one of the severest that could have befallen the regiment. He was a man of cool head, great executive ability and literally dauntless courage.

"To attempt to give a list of the men who showed signal valor would necessitate sending in an almost complete roster of the regiment. Many of the cases which I mention stand merely as examples of the rest, not as exceptions.

CONDUCT OF GALLANT OFFICERS.

"Captain Jenkins acted as major and showed such conspicuous gallantry and efficiency that I earnestly hope he may be promoted to major as soon as a vacancy occurs. Captains Lewellen, Muller and Luna led their troops throughout the charges, handling them admirably. At the end of the battle Lieutenants Kane, Greenwood and Goodrich were in charge of their troops immediately under my eye, and I wish particularly to commend their conduct throughout.

"But the most conspicuous gallantry was shown by Trooper Rowland. He was wounded in the side in our first fight, but kept in the firing line. He was sent to the hospital the next day, but left it and marched out to us, overtaking us, and fought all through this battle with such indifference to danger that I was forced again and again to restrain and threaten him for running needless risks.

"Great gallantry was also shown by four troopers whom I cannot identify, and by Trooper Winslow Clark, of Troop G. It was after we had taken the first hill. I had called out to rush the

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

second, and having by that time lost my horse, climbed a wire fence and started toward it.

"After going a couple of hundred yards under a heavy fire, I found that no one else had come. As I discovered later, it was simply because in the confusion, with men shooting and being shot, they had not noticed me start. I told the five men to wait a moment, as it might be misunderstood if we all ran back, while I ran back and started the regiment, and as soon as I did so the regiment came with a rush.

"But meanwhile the five men coolly lay down in the open, returning the fire from the trenches. It is to be wondered at that only Clark was seriously wounded, and he called out, as we passed again, to lay his canteen where he could reach it, but to continue the charge and leave him where he was. All the wounded had to be left until after the fight, for we could spare no men from the firing line. Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

WOULD NOT HAVE KNOWN IT IF DEFEATED.

Trooper Rowland, who received honorable mention by Colonel Roosevelt for his gallantry, hailed from New Mexico. His frontier life had made him brave and fearless. It would seem that this fight with the Spaniards was to him little more than a pastime. Without much exaggeration it may be said that if he had been defeated he would not have known it. Such soldierly qualities were just the ones to be admired by his leader, and it is not strange that Roosevelt makes special mention of him, as he did of many others. If there was any post more dangerous than another, Rowland was the man who felt humiliated if it was not assigned to him.

He was sent by Colonel Roosevelt on a dangerous errand, and on his return the colonel noticed that he was wounded.

"Where are you hurt, Rowland?" he asked.

"Aw—they caved in a couple of ribs for me, I guess."

Colonel Roosevelt ordered him to go to the rear and make himself as comfortable as he could in the hospital. Rowland, for

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

the first time in his service, grumbled, and was inclined to argue the case. He did not want to leave. But when the order was repeated he disappeared, and was not seen for half an hour. But in the course of the advance Colonel Roosevelt saw him again, and exclaimed.

"I thought you were told to go to the hospital."

"Aw—I couldn't find the hospital," replied the man, a statement which his colonel doubted. And he remained on the firing-line to the end of the conflict. His conduct was typical of the heroism and fortitude of the whole American army."

The following lines, written by one of the troopers, express the feeling of the Rough Riders toward their leader :

SONG OF ROOSEVELT'S RIDERS.

WE thud—thud—thud down the dusky pike,
We jingle across the plain,
We cut and thrust, and we lunge and strike,
We throttle the sons of Spain !
Our chief has never a tremor shown,
He's grit cinched up in a belt,
Oh, they must be for their courage known
Who ride with Roosevelt.
We gallop along the gloomy vale,
We bustle a-down the lane,
We leap the stream and the toppling rail—
We burst on the men of Spain !
It's rattle and clash, the sabers flash,
The Spaniard host doth melt,
It's bluff and grit, and it's all things vast
To ride with Roosevelt !

Speaking of the battle, Colonel Roosevelt said : "The men were deployed on both sides of the road in such thick jungle that only here and there could they see ahead. Through the jungle ran wire fences, and when the troops got to the ridge they encountered precipitous bluffs. They were led most gallantly, as American regular officers always lead their men ; and the soldiers followed their leaders with the splendid courage always

shown by the American regular soldier. There was not a single straggler among them, and so cool were they and so perfect their fine discipline, that in the entire engagement the expenditure of ammunition was not over ten rounds per man.

"Major Bell, who commanded the squadron, had his leg broken by a shot as he was leading his men. Captain Wainwright succeeded to the command of the squadron. Captain Knox was shot in the abdomen. He continued for some time giving orders to his troops, and refused to allow a man from the firing-line to assist him to the rear. Lieutenant Byron was himself shot, but continued to lead his men until the wound and the heat overcame him, and he fell in a faint. The Spaniards kept up a very heavy firing, but as the regulars climbed the ridges the Spaniards broke and fled."

PRAISES FOR THE REGULARS.

The value of this statement consists in showing the estimate Colonel Roosevelt placed upon the regulars. He was connected with the volunteers, yet was ever ready to bestow just praise, anxious only that it should be conferred where it was due. He had no selfish desire to belittle the achievements of the regular United States troops. He knew these could be depended upon in every emergency. They were splendidly drilled; they were commanded by brave and competent officers. He had no desire to rob them of their glory.

To magnify the heroism of the volunteers and thus disparage the valor of the regulars would have shown a jealous, narrow, selfish spirit, of which he was quite incapable. His own troops acted gallantly, but they were not the only heroes. If he had led a regiment of the regular army he would have been willing to give the volunteers credit for every deed of bravery.

Equal and exact justice to all has been the aim of Roosevelt through all his public career. Herein lies one secret of his extraordinary hold upon the popular heart. He is not a self-seeker; he is not a trickster. He is a thoroughly honest, generous, just and frank man, and the people know it. And for the reason that

he is such a man, broad-minded and ready to give even an enemy his due, his place in popular esteem is assured. His fame and popularity can be accounted for as much from what he is as from what he has done.

Important details of Colonel Roosevelt's part in our war with Spain were presented by him before the committee of investigation appointed to take testimony concerning the manner in which the military and naval operations had been carried on. Colonel Roosevelt was examined November 22, 1898. His statements were frank, right to the point, free from all evasion, and given with evident endeavor to be just to all parties concerned. He was examined by General Wilson.

GO AHEAD TOWARD THE GUNS.

Speaking of La Guasimas, he said : "It was a brisk skirmish, and, it being my first experience, and with smokeless powder in use, it took me a little time to make out exactly what was up, and I couldn't see the Spaniards for a long time. They were using smokeless powder; but, fortunately, I knew one rule, that 'if you are in doubt go ahead and be sure you go toward the guns!' We finally discovered the Spaniards through Mr. Richard Harding Davis, who was with me on the line. He pointed across the ravine to an elevation, where he thought were some Spaniards, as he could see their hats; and I got my glasses on them and saw they were Spanish hats, and got my men volley firing on them and they were driven out and ran back where there were other Spaniards, and pretty soon we had them all going back."

Orders were received on the 30th of June for the brigade to move forward to Santiago. The next morning the battle was fought which had been impending for several days. When our artillery opened fire the Spaniards poured shrapnel into our ranks that killed or wounded a number of American troops and Cubans. Roosevelt was placed in command of the brigade with orders to lead it.

His official report says : "My regiment went first, the Second Brigade following the First Brigade along the road to join on Gen-

eral Lawton's left. That was the order we received. General Lawton was attacking El Caney. We marched out behind the First Brigade until we came to the San Juan River, which we forded, and then turned to the right. I got my regiment across just as the captive balloon was coming along down to the ford. There was a good deal of firing going on, and I knew when that balloon got down there would be hot work at the ford, so I hurried my men along as quickly as I could, and my regiment marched at the head of the Second Brigade to the right alongside San Juan River, with the First Cavalry Brigade to our left, between us and the block houses and intrenchments on the hills, and the firing got heavier and heavier, and we finally received word to halt and await orders.

WELCOME ORDER TO ADVANCE.

"There was a kind of sunken lane going up from the river where we halted, and I made the men all lie down and get under cover as much as they could, and we lay there for, I should judge, certainly an hour. Finally we got the welcome orders to advance. I received instructions to move forward and support the regular cavalry in the assault on the hills in front, and we moved forward, and we then took Kettle Hill, as we called it. I never heard the term San Juan Hill until two or three days later. After we went up Kettle Hill, Colonel Hamilton and Colonel Carroll were both shot, and that left me in command on the hill until General Sumner got there. I got my men together and got them volley firing across at the San Juan block house on the hill which the infantry of Kent and Hawkins were attacking.

"We kept up firing for some time, and I recollect we heard Parker's Gatlings begin shooting on the left and our men cheered them, and we kept up our fire until the infantry got so near the top of the hill that I was afraid of hitting them, and in another minute we saw the infantry swarm over the intrenchments and the Spaniards run out; and then we charged from Kettle Hill across at the next line of hills, which was in the rear, where there were Spanish trenches and another block house. General Sumner was

on Kettle Hill before this ; he had been riding along the lines of the cavalry seeing that they went forward. He had command of the cavalry division at that time.

"Then we took the next line of intrenchments. The Spaniards were still firing at us, and we formed and went to the left, and got on the crest of the chain of hills overlooking Santiago. By that time I was the highest officer in command on the extreme front, and I had six regiments under me. Major Wessels had been wounded, and Captains Morton and Boughton came up and reported to me, and Captains Stevens and McNamee of the Ninth reported to me. I received orders, then, from Captain Howze, of General Sumner's staff, not to advance but to hold that hill at all hazards. Captain Howze was always at the front when he could be. We held the hill until nightfall, when we received orders to intrench.

FED ON THE ENEMY'S FOOD.

"We had captured in the block house the Spanish officers' mess—and an extremely good officers' mess it was, better than anything we had had ; a big kettle of beef, a kettle of rice, and peas, and a big demijohn of rum, and a lot of rice flour loaves, so I fed those out to my men ; and we also got a lot of Spanish intrenching tools, and we threw up some very aboriginal intrenchments. So that night we had a mild feast on the Spaniards' food.

"That is the night of the 1st. We intrenched there. As I have seen talk about a retreat being considered from that hill, it is only justice to say that the officers on the extreme front of that line, at least in my part of the line, never dreamed of the Spaniards driving us ; they were all perfectly horrified at the idea of retreating. Captains Morton and Boughton came over to me in the afternoon to say that someone had spoken of retreating, and to beg of me to protest. I had not heard of it, and did not believe it was true. I knew that we could hold that line against anything that could come up in the front."

Colonel Roosevelt spoke of "the enormous superiority of the smokeless powder over the black powder," adding that it could

hardly be realized by those not on the ground. "I saw, for instance, the guns on our left open fire, and in a half-minute after the first shot there would be a thick black cloud hanging, and apparently every Spanish gun and every Spanish rifle within a radius of a mile of us would be turned on that point, and the gun would be driven out ; so that our men—I mean the dismounted cavalry—would say, 'there go the artillery ; they will be driven out.' And they were. They were placed back in the rear on the following day, but they were driven off the firing line where the infantry were.

GETTING GUNS IN POSITION.

"On the other hand, the Gatlings, which were managed by Captain Parker, were fought on the extreme front of the skirmish line ; he fought his Gatlings right up on the extreme front, just as far as anybody could go. He did magnificently. He was on the right of our regiment. We had our two Colts, and he came and helped us put our two Colts in position. We didn't think we had put our works out quite far enough, and we zigzagged an approach and made a kind of bastion some 200 yards out on the hill, so that we could fire right into the Spanish works. He helped us dig the approach and helped us get our Colt automatic guns fixed just right. He not only fought his own guns, but he rendered us every assistance.

"If he had not had smokeless powder we would not have allowed him in the trenches unless he could have stayed there in spite of us. I would say that some of the Seventy-First New York came up in the trenches right by some of the cavalry of the First Brigade, and the cavalymen ordered them out, saying that they would not have them in their trenches ; they would rather fight without support than with the black powder, insuring their being the one point at which the enemy were firing."

Notwithstanding all the privations to which the troopers were subjected they made no complaint ; all hardships were accepted as belonging to the fortunes of war. In one of his first speeches to his men Colonel Roosevelt said :

"You've got to perform without flinching whatever duty is assigned you, regardless of the difficulty or danger attending it. No matter what comes, you must not squeal." These words of Roosevelt became almost a creed with his men. To do anything without flinching or squealing was their aim, and to hear the colonel say "Good!" was reward enough. One of his troopers who was disabled and brought home answered a reporter who asked if the colonel was a good fighter: "A fighter? You'd give a lifetime to see that man leading a charge or to hear him yell. Talk about courage and grit, and all that—he's got it. Why I used to keep my eye on him whenever I could, and I've seen him dash into a hail of bullets, cheering and yelling all the time, as if possessed. He doesn't know what fear is and seems to bear a charmed life. All the Rough Riders adore him."

WOULD FOLLOW HIM TO HADES.

Colonel Roosevelt was hit by a fragment of shell on San Juan Hill. A trooper who was on the ground, said: "Teddy was with four or five other officers just below the brow of a hill upon which one of our batteries was placed, when a Spanish shell, well aimed, flew over the crest and exploded just above the heads of the group. Two of the officers were painfully wounded, but Teddy, with his usual good luck, escaped with a cut on the back of his right hand. It was trivial, but it bled. I shall never forget the delight on Teddy's face when he saw his own blood leak out. Whipping out his handkerchief after a moment he bound it around his hand. A little later when he was near our line he held up his bandaged hand and said gaily, 'See here, boys; I've got it, too.'

"I never saw anybody so anxious to be in the thick of the trouble as Teddy. The first day the Rough Riders were held in reserve he chafed terribly. He kept saying, 'I wish they'd let us start.' We all idolized Teddy. He wears a flannel shirt most of the time, and refuses to fare any better than his men. Why, he wouldn't have a shelter-tent when they were distributed. There isn't one of our fellows who wouldn't follow Teddy to Hades if he ordered us to."

General Wheeler said of the colonel on his return from Cuba: "Roosevelt is a born fighter, and his men were absolutely devoted to him. While we were together on board the transport I had an opportunity of observing Roosevelt more closely than was possible in the hustle and excitement of the camp. What impressed me most about him was his absolute integrity."

Here is what Sergeant Judson, Co. E, First Illinois Volunteers, wrote under date of Santiago, July 30th: "The Rough Riders and our regiment have for a week camped together. They are a fine body of men, and Colonel Roosevelt is a fine fellow. I have talked to him personally three times. He is one of the boys. In the campaign against Santiago he was digging trenches with a pick, like his men. He sleeps in a miserable tent and chews hardtack like the rest. When we first came our food consisted of one piece of hardtack for each meal, and some water.

"This lasted two days, and along came Roosevelt on his horse. I was on my way to cut some grass to sleep on. He stopped me and said, 'I know you boys are starved for food, but I am going to do what I can for you. So far I have managed to get some coffee and a number of cases of hardtack, which will start you. We are going to fight together, and I want to see you all in good trim.' If it wasn't for him I am sure we would have been without supplies much longer."

Thus it will be seen that hunger was often added to the hardships experienced by our brave troops before Santiago. It would occasionally happen that, owing to the difficulty of transporting supplies, the men could obtain only scanty rations. A humorous allusion to this, and to the ravenous appetite caused thereby, is found in the following doggerel, entitled

A ROUGH RIDER AT HOME.

My pa's a great Rough Rider,
He was one of Teddy's men,
And he fought before El Caney
In the trenches and the fen.
He came home sore and wounded,

And I wish you'd see him eat;
 He's got an appetite, I guess,
 Is pretty hard to beat.
 It's eat and eat and eat
 And it's sleep and sleep and sleep,
 For ma won't let us make no noise,
 And so we creep and creep.
 O, we bade him welcome home,
 And we're glad he wasn't killed—
 But, gee! he's got an appetite
 That never will be filled.
 He says he caught the fever,
 And he had the ague, too;
 And he kind o' got the homesicks
 And the waitin' made him blue.
 But when he reached the station
 And we saw him from the gate
 We were the happiest family
 You could find in all the State.

A great deal of interest attaches to Roosevelt's famous charge up San Juan hill, when his brigade performed deeds of valor that would have done credit to Napoleon's Old Guard. Here is the account of it given in the press despatches :

LEADING HIS GALLANT SOLDIERS.

"Roosevelt was in the lead, waving his sword. Out into the open and up the hill, where death seemed certain, in the face of the continuous crackle of the Mausers, came the Rough Riders with the Tenth Cavalry alongside. Not a man flinched, all continuing to fire as they ran. Roosevelt was a hundred feet ahead of his troops, yelling like a Sioux, while his own men and the colored cavalry cheered him as they charged up the hill. There was no stopping as men's neighbors fell, but on they went, faster and faster. Suddenly Roosevelt's horse stopped, pawed the air for a moment, and fell in a heap. Before the horse was down Roosevelt disengaged himself from the saddle and landing on his feet, again yelled to his men, and, sword in hand, charged on foot."

ROOSEVELT'S BRILLIANT RECORD IN THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The valor of that day has been commemorated in the following spirited lines:

BEFORE SANTIAGO.

Who cries that the days of daring are those that are faded far,
That never a light burns planet-bright to be hailed as the hero's star?
Let the deeds of the dead be lauded, the brave of the elder years,
But a song, we say, for the men of to-day who have proved themselves their
peers !

High in the vault of the tropic sky is the garish eye of the sun,
And down with its crown of guns a-frown looks the hill-top to be won ;
There is the trench where the Spaniard lurks, his hold and his hiding place,
And he who would cross the space between must meet death face to face.

The black mouths belch and thunder, and the shrapnel shrills and flies ;
Where are the fain and the fearless, the lads with the dauntless eyes ?
Will the moment find them wanting ! Nay, but with valor stirred !
Like the leashed hound on the coursing-ground they wait but the warning word.

"Charge !" and the line moves forward, moves with a shout and a swing,
While sharper far than the cactus-thorn is the spiteful bullet's sting.
Now they are out in the open, and now they are breasting the slope,
While into the eyes of death they gaze as into the eyes of hope.

Never they wait nor waver, but on they climb and on,
With "Up with the flag of the stripes and stars, and down with the flag of the
Don !"
What should they bear through the shot-rent air but rout to the ranks of
Spain,
For the blood that throbs in their hearts is the blood of the boys of Anthony
Wayne !

See, they have taken the trenches ! Where are the foemen ? Gone !
And now "Old Glory" waves in the breeze from the heights of San Juan !
And so, while the dead are lauded, the brave of the elder years,
A song, we say, for the men of to-day who have proved themselves their
peers !

CLINTON SCOLLARD.

An incident may be here related which vividly shows the esteem, amounting almost to adoration, in which Colonel Roosevelt was held by regulars as well as volunteers. He received the admiration always accorded a man who is every inch a soldier.

Among the United States regulars whose term of enlistment expired during the Santiago campaign, and who quit the service upon returning to this country, was a man of the Ninth Infantry, known to the members of the regiment as Johnson of Maryland. He was a tall, lanky Southerner, and the pride of the Ninth because of his marksmanship, which was so true that Johnson was head and shoulders over all the others in handling a Krag-Jorgensen.

STORY OF PRIVATE JOHNSON.

He appeared to be the most contented man in Uncle Sam's service, and often spoke of re-enlisting until an event occurred just after the first day's fighting at San Juan which caused him to change his mind, and he vowed never to handle a gun again. He would never speak of it to his comrades, but they all knew why he quit; and although they argued and tried to persuade him to remain, Johnson only shook his head and said, "No, boys, I can't stay with you any longer. I'd like to, but don't ask me again. I can't do it. I must get out."

One of the members of Johnson's company tells the story of what caused the Ninth to lose its crack shot.

"We had been engaged in the hottest kind of work for some hours, and after taking the first line of Spanish trenches we were fixing them up for our own use. The Spaniards had been driven back, but their sharpshooters were still at it, picking off our men here and there. The Mauser bullets were whizzing around us pretty lively, and I noticed that Johnson was getting more and more impatient every minute, and acting as if he was just aching to get at those Spanish sharpshooters, and finally he turned to me, and, in his drawling tone, said: 'Say, it's tough we can't get a chance at them.'

"He soon got his chance, however, for just as dusk began

our captain ordered a dozen of us to advance a short distance ahead and well beyond the trenches our forces had captured. When we arrived on the spot we were halted on the edge of a dense wood. Just ahead of us was an open space of clear ground, and on the other side of that a low, thick brush which extended as far as I could see.

"Just before night came on we received our final orders, which were to pay particular attention to the brush just ahead of us on the other side of the clearing, and to shoot at the first head we saw. We had settled down to our tiresome occupation of watching and waiting, but always prepared for anything, and Johnson and I were talking in low tones of the day's fighting we had just passed through when we heard the sound of a dry twig breaking. We were alert in an instant, and all the men in our line were looking straight ahead with pieces half raised, ready for use. As I looked at Johnson I could see him smile, apparently with the hope of a chance to shoot. The sound repeated itself, this time a little nearer, but still quite indistinct.

MIGHT HAVE BEEN A FATAL MISTAKE.

"An instant later we again heard it, and it sounded directly ahead of Johnson and me, and was, beyond a doubt, a cautious tread, but too heavy for a man. While we waited in almost breathless silence for something to happen we again heard the cautious tread, now quite plain. It was the tread of a horse and was just ahead of us. Suddenly, as the head became plainer, a dark object appeared just above the top of the brush. Dozens of guns were raised, but Johnson whispered: 'I've got him.'

"He crawled a few paces forward and we saw him raise his gun, his fingers nervously working on the trigger. At that instant the brush parted and a horse and rider stepped out. We saw Johnson stretch out his piece and we expected to see a flash, but just then the rider turned in his saddle, and by the dim light from the dull red glow that still tinged the sky we saw a pair of eyeglasses flash. We all knew at once who it was, but not one of us spoke. We were probably too horrified, and before I could say

a word Johnson turned to me, and with a look on his face I shall never forget, exclaimed, in a hoarse voice :

“ ‘ My God, Ben; it's Roosevelt! And I nearly plucked him !’

“With this he threw his gun from him and just sat there and stared at the place in the brush where Colonel Roosevelt and his horse had entered. The latter, when he heard the voices of our men, came straight up to us, and appeared surprised to find us so far beyond the trench. When he heard of the orders about shooting at the first head we saw, he smiled and said :

“ ‘ That is the first I've heard of the orders. They were probably issued while I was away doing a little reconnoitering on my own hook.’ ”

HEAVY LOSSES OF THE ROUGH RIDERS.

Mention has already been made of the gallant conduct of the regulars in the engagements before Santiago, yet it is but truth to say that the Rough Riders were in the thick of every fight, and the official reports show that they lost more officers than any of the regulars, and sustained casualties greater in number and more severe than fell to the lot of any other regiment. They lost more in killed, had more disabled by wounds and had fewer missing.

All authorities agree that owing to the nature of the ground, the extreme heat and other circumstances our troops had very hard fighting. This is evident from what General Wheeler says in his book on “The Santiago Campaign.”

“As we rode for the first time into Santiago,” he says, “we were struck by the excellent manner in which the Spanish lines were fortified, and more especially by the formidable defenses with which they had barricaded the roads. The one in question, on which we were traveling, was barricaded in no less than four places, said defenses consisting of an enormous mass of barbed iron wire, stretched across the entire width of the road. They were not merely single lines of wire, but pieces running perpendicularly, diagonally, horizontally, and in every other direction, resembling nothing so much as a huge thick spider web with an enormous mass in the center.

"Behind this some ten or fifteen feet were barrels of an extraordinary size, filled with sand, stones and concrete, on the tops of which sand bags were placed in such fashion as to leave small holes through which the Spaniards could sight their guns. It would, indeed, have been a hard task for American troops, were they ever so brave and courageous, to have taken by storm a city which was protected by such defenses as these. Nothing short of artillery could have swept such obstructions out of the way, and even then they would have been more or less effective because of the narrowness of the road and the high banks on each side, which would have prevented getting the obstructions out of the way.

"Even the streets were intrenched in similar fashion, the people taking refuge in the upper stories of their houses. Had it come to a hand-to-hand fight, as at one time was feared, the American troops would have suffered a fearful loss, being necessarily placed at such a disadvantage. It was fortunate, therefore, that the surrender came when it did; for otherwise many a brave boy who has returned to resume his avocations of peace, or to do his duty as a soldier in his native land, would have found his last resting-place on Cuban soil."

TWO DAYS IN A MUDDY DITCH.

An appreciative biographer of Roosevelt relates the following: "A young lieutenant tells an incident of a night in the trenches which illustrates the power which Roosevelt had over his men and how he managed to hold it. It was the night of the Spanish sortie on the captured trenches. The Rough Riders had lain for forty-eight hours in the muddy ditch, sweltering by day, shivering by night. At the hour of early morning the Spaniards appeared in a dense, dark line at the top of the hill. The men in the trenches stirred uneasily. Tired and discouraged, chilled to the bone, they were ready to bolt at a signal or a movement from anyone. But suddenly they saw Colonel Roosevelt walking calmly along the top of the intrenchment, with a faded blue handkerchief flapping from his hat.

"He seemed to be oblivious of the rain of Mauser bullets

which were falling about him, and was apparently as unconscious of danger as if he were strolling in the woods on a summer's day. But the effect of his coolness on the men was remarkable. A cheer went up, and every one was calling to the colonel to come down out of danger. The restlessness was over, and the drooping spirits of the men gave place to grim determination to prove as heroic as their leader. A cowboy lieutenant said: 'That was the bravest thing I ever saw in my life.' "

The lack of food proved a trial to the Rough Riders after the surrender of Santiago. In his official report to the War Department, Colonel Roosevelt said:

ONLY HALF FIT FOR DUTY.

"On the 17th the city surrendered. On the 18th we shifted camp, but the march under the noonday sun told very heavily on our men, weakened by underfeeding and overwork, and the next morning one hundred and twenty-three cases were reported to the doctor, and I now have but half of the six hundred men with which I landed four weeks ago fit for duty, and these are not fit to do anything like the work they could do then. As we had but one wagon, the change necessitated leaving much of my stuff behind, with a night of discomfort, with scanty shelter, and scanty food for most of the officers and many of the men. Only the possession of the impoverished pack train saved us from being worse.

"Yesterday I sent in a detail of six officers and men to see if they could not purchase or make arrangements for a supply of proper food and proper clothing for the men, even if we had to pay for it out of our own pockets. Our suffering had been due primarily to lack of transportation and of proper food or sufficient clothing and of medical supplies. We should now have wagon sheets for tentage.

"Very respectfully,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

CHAPTER XXVII

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

**SECURES THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE—DOUBTS SOON DISPELLED—
SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT—FIRST OFFICIAL ACTS—REQUESTS
THE MEMBERS OF THE CABINET TO RETAIN OFFICE—PATHETIC
SCENES AT BUFFALO — NEW PRESIDENT TO CONTINUE THE
POLICY OF HIS PREDECESSOR—AN ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER
AND ABILITY—ENCOUNTERS AT THE OUTSET GRAVE POLITICAL
PROBLEMS—VIEWS CONCERNING CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES.**

THE appalling tragedy that ended the life of President McKinley, at the very summit of his fame and usefulness, summoned Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency of the United States. It was a dark day for our country when the fatal shot was fired that struck down a President who was universally admired and beloved, and who, it was fondly thought, had not an enemy on earth.

Instantly the nation turned to his successor with a feeling both of relief and apprehension. The vast responsibility and the call for the wisest statesmanship suddenly thrust upon him, and the fact that he was now to guide the destinies of the republic, caused grave fears in the minds of thoughtful people, and an anxiety which, under the circumstances, was but natural and inevitable. At the same time, his public record was such as to go far toward creating the utmost confidence in his ability to cope with the sudden and extraordinary crisis. No one doubted the purity of his intentions, the honesty of his convictions, or his conscientious purpose to make good the loss sustained by the country, and to carry forward the policies advocated by his predecessor.

Although some vague doubts were expressed, and men questioned one another as to whether Mr. Roosevelt would prove equal to the emergency, there were no signs of panic in the world of

finance, or slowing up of the wheels of industry. With a self-confidence which has often been ridiculed as Yankee boasting, it was believed the country could take care of itself, and its new chief executive would superbly meet every demand. Public opinion was soon enlisted in his support, the timid ones were reassured, and the overwhelming sorrow and sense of bereavement that followed the assassination of one President gradually gave way to a feeling of thankfulness that another so competent and trustworthy was now at the head of our national affairs.

HOPES SUDDENLY BLASTED.

The mournful event that placed Mr. Roosevelt in the White House was as unexpected by him as it was by the nation at large. The crack of the assassin's pistol rang through the whole world with startling effect. No one was prepared for the thrilling tragedy. As is well known, hopes were entertained for President McKinley's recovery. For a whole week his condition was reported by the attending physicians as perfectly satisfactory, and there was every indication that his wound would not prove fatal. The bulletins expressed a hope that amounted almost to a certainty, and stated only a short time before his death, that all danger was past. The bullet had not been extracted, but the illustrious patient's symptoms and general condition gave every promise of complete recovery.

Then came the sudden change for the worse. The ghastly reaper who strikes down rulers and peasants alike, with unpitied celerity made sure of his victim. Hope went out in darkness and delusive promises were mercilessly broken. The civilized world felt the shock. It was a time for awe and silence.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as President of the United States at 3.36 o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, September 14th. Standing in a low-ceiled, narrow room in the quaint old mansion occupied by Ansley Wilcox, in the fashionable part of Delaware Avenue, the aristocratic thoroughfare of Buffalo, Mr. Roosevelt swore to administer the laws of the Government of which he is now the head. He stood erect, holding his right

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

hand high above his head. His massive shoulders were thrown well back, as, with his head inclined a little forward, he repeated the form of the oath of office in clear, distinct tones, that fell impressively upon the ears of the forty-three persons grouped about the room.

His face was a study in earnestness and determination, as he uttered the words which made him President of the United States. His face was much paler than it was wont to be, and his eyes, though bright and steady, gleamed mistily through his big-bowed gold spectacles. His attire was sombre and modest. A well-fitting worsted frock coat draped his athletic figure almost to the knees. His trousers were dark gray, with pinstripes. A thin skein of golden chain looped from the two lower pockets of his waistcoat. While he was waiting for the ceremony he toyed with this chain with his right hand.

PICTURESQUE LITTLE ROOM.

The place selected for the ceremony of taking the oath was the library of Mr. Wilcox's house, a rather small room, but picturesque, the heavy oak trimmings and the massive bookcases giving it somewhat the appearance of a legal den. A pretty bay window with stained glass and heavy hangings formed a background, and against this the President took his position.

Judge Hazel stood near the President in the bay window, and the latter showed his extreme nervousness by plucking at the lapel of his long frock coat and nervously tapping the hardwood floor with his heel. He stepped over once to Secretary Root, and for about five minutes they conversed earnestly. The question at issue was whether the President should first sign an oath of office and then swear in or whether he should swear in first and sign the document in the case after.

At precisely 3.32 o'clock Secretary Root ceased his conversation with the President, and, stepping back, while an absolute hush fell upon every one in the room, said in an almost inaudible voice:

"Mr. Vice-President, I——" Then his voice broke, and for fully two minutes the tears came down his face and his lips quiv-

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

ered, so that he could not continue his utterances. There were sympathetic tears from those about him, and two great drops ran down either cheek of the successor of William McKinley. Mr. Root's chin was on his breast. Suddenly throwing back his head, as if with an effort, he continued in broken voice :

"I have been requested, on behalf of the Cabinet of the late President, at least those who are present in Buffalo, all except two, to request that for reasons of weight affecting the affairs of government, you should proceed to take the constitutional oath of office of President of the United States."

Judge Hazel had stepped to the rear of the President, and Mr. Roosevelt, coming closer to Secretary Root, said, in a voice that at first wavered, but finally came deep and strong, while, as if to control his nervousness, he held firmly to the lapel of his coat with his right hand :

M'KINLEY'S POLICIES TO BE CONTINUED.

"I shall take the oath at once in accordance with your request, and in this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

The President stepped farther into the bay window, and Judge Hazel, taking up the constitutional oath of office, which had been prepared on parchment, asked the President to raise his right hand and repeat it after him. There was a hush like death in the room as the Judge read a few words at a time, and the President, in a strong voice and without a tremor, and with his raised hand as steady as if carved from marble, repeated it after him.

"And thus I swear," he ended it. The hand dropped by his side, the chin for an instant rested on the breast, and the silence remained unbroken for a couple of minutes, as though the new President of the United States was offering silent prayer for help and guidance.

Judge Hazel broke the silence, saying: "Mr. President, please attach your signature." And the President, turning to a

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

small table near-by, wrote "Theodore Roosevelt" at the bottom of the document in a firm hand.

"I should like to see the members of the Cabinet a few moments after the others retire," said the President, and this was the signal for the score of the people, who had been favored by witnessing the ceremony, to retire.

As they turned to go the President said: "I will shake hands with you people, gladly," and, with something of his old smile returning, he first shook hands with the members of the Cabinet present, then Senator Depew and finally with a few guests and newspaper men.

MEMBERS OF CABINET REMAIN.

At a meeting of the Cabinet in the afternoon, President Roosevelt requested that the members retain their positions, at least for the present, and they promised that they would do so. He also received assurances that Secretaries Hay and Gage, who were absent, would remain for the time being. The first official act of President Roosevelt was the issuing of the following proclamation, the appropriateness and felicitous expression of which could not be improved.

"By the President of the United States of America, a proclamation :

"A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down ; a crime committed not only against the Chief Magistrate, but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen.

"President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellowmen, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude ; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage of our people.

"It is meet that we, as a nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death.

"Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do appoint Thursday next, September

SUDDENLY CALLED TO BE PRESIDENT.

19, the day in which the body of the dead President will be laid in its last earthly resting place, as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. I earnestly recommend all the people to assemble in their respective places of divine worship, there to bow down in submission to the will of Almighty God, and to pay out of full hearts their homage of love and reverence to the great and good President, whose death has smitten the nation with bitter grief.

“In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

“Done at the city of Washington, the 14th day of September, A. D., one thousand nine hundred and one, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-sixth.

“(SEAL.) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

“By the President,

“JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.”

CHAPTER XXVIII

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

GREAT PREPARATIONS AT MOMBASA—BRITONS TAKE SPECIAL PRECAUTIONS—THE TRIP TO THE JUNGLE—SLEEPS TO MUSIC OF LIONS' ROARS—AT JU JA RANCH—ON THE KAPITI PLAINS—THE HUNT BEGINS.

THE preparations for the reception at Mombasa of Theodore Roosevelt had long been in a state of completion. Sir James Hayes Sadler, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the protectorate, who had been transferred suddenly to the Windward Islands, was very much disappointed that he was not able to receive the former President of the United States. This duty devolved upon Frederick John Jackson, Lieutenant Governor of the protectorate. Mr. Jackson is a famous sportsman and the author of the book on big game in the Badminton Library series.

There were amusing phases to the expectancy with which the arrival of Col. Roosevelt was awaited. Since the advent of the rains lions had been terrifying the natives within four miles of Kilindini. An elephant that evidently had strayed from a herd made its way into the bazaar at Masingi and played havoc. The natives at Masingi had been assured that they need have no further fear, as Col. Roosevelt is on his way to the protectorate to hunt.

They were awaiting Col. Roosevelt's arrival contentedly.

Packages addressed to Col. Roosevelt had been arriving out on every steamer from London. They came principally from British firms in the export business.

A cablegram had been sent to Col. Roosevelt at Aden inviting him to be the guest of the citizens of Mombasa at dinner on St. George's Day, April 23. This at first was declined, but finally was accepted in the spirit in which it was tendered.

R. J. Cunninghame, a widely known hunter and field naturalist, who was to manage the Roosevelt expedition, completed his prepara-

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

tion with much secrecy. He had not been seen in or about Nairobi for a fortnight.

The government even constructed a new road to facilitate the landing of the Roosevelt party at Kilindini, the landing place for Mombasa.

The steamer Melbourne, of the Messageries Lines, went on a reef in the harbor just before Col. Roosevelt's arrival. It was feared for a time that she would block the entrance to the steamer Admiral, but the steamer Oxus came in later and succeeded in pulling her off without damage.

The Colonial Office in London had issued instructions to the Governor of the protectorate to surround Col. Roosevelt on his hunting trips with every possible precaution for his safety, since the mullahs of the Somalis inhabiting the desert country north of the protectorate were reported to be showing further signs of unrest, and were massing on the northern boundary of Kenya province.

TRouble WAS FEARED.

This restlessness first became evident some six months before, and there had been apprehension of trouble in the dry season, when travel over the trails is easier.

This northern district always has been a territory to watch closely.

When the natives do go out for trouble they generally bear to the westward in the direction of the settled districts and the good hunting grounds.

There was therefore some local anxiety, particularly as a majority of the protectorate groups were at Berbera, in British Somaliland.

Sir H. Hesketh-Bell, Governor and commander-in-chief of Uganda, having left Uganda April 28 for England, Col. Roosevelt and his party were first received in Uganda by S. C. Tomkins, one of the provincial commissioners.

It had been decided that Kermit Roosevelt was to take a number of short separate hunting trips with a Portuguese hunter.

For the first fortnight of their stay the Roosevelt party were

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

the guests at Athi River of Sir Alfred Pease, a well-known hunter, who has a large estate at Kilina Theki. The second fortnight they were the guests of George McMillan at Ju Ja ranch.

A local hunter had recently secured in the cannibal country an elephant whose tusks weighed 290 pounds. When Col. Roosevelt heard this he almost jumped for joy. "That promises good sport," he laughed.

Meanwhile, all the town was on the qui vive.

The manager of the railroad had come down from Nairobi. The superintendent of traffic also was there, and both officials went on the special train that took Col. Roosevelt and his party inland. Col. Roosevelt also was accompanied on this journey by the Governor of the protectorate.

Natives were coming into Mombasa from all parts of the country to witness the disembarkation of the "Great White Chief." The rains were increasing, but there had been a decrease in the smallpox cases in the interior.

FEAR PROVED UNFOUNDED.

It was feared that the unusually heavy rains so late in the wet season would interfere greatly with the first part of Col. Roosevelt's stay in the protectorate. But this fear proved to be unfounded. The sky was clear and the climate, despite the equatorial sun, cool and invigorating.

The actual route which Col. Roosevelt was to follow had not been definitely decided upon, but it was finally settled that several different trails should be taken from Nairobi as headquarters.

Baron Tallian de Vizek, a famous Hungarian hunter, who had just passed through Mombasa returning home, reported that big game prospects were good. His party went from Nairobi to the west and traveled across the Athi plains to the Athi River, thence to Mount Donyo Sabuk as far as the Upper Tana River.

He reported common antelope and zebra plentiful, but when stalking elands and gnu at the foot of Mount Dwiniaro he was interfered with by rhinoceri.

Again Col. Roosevelt laughed gleefully. Turning to Kermit

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

he chuckled: "Guess we won't have our trip for nothing, eh, Kermit!" Indeed, from the moment his eyes first landed on the jungle, the former President seemed the very personification of glee.

A fortnight before when Baron de Vizek attempted to avoid rhinoceri on his right, he found another crowd on his left and seven in front. Being anxious to secure a bull eland holding the finest head he had seen, the Baron had no option but to push forward, a movement which two old rhino bulls resented. They charged viciously and gave the hunter no opportunity of evading them. The Baron expressed regret that he was obliged to sacrifice them, as he had already secured better heads.

Apart from the rhinoceros nuisance he recommended this route, especially for elands, giraffes and hippopotami, which latter gave him great sport on the Tana. Lions were met on several occasions.

GREAT GROUP OF LIONS FOUND.

The report of a record group of lions on the Nandi Plateau and elephants in the Elburgon forest also was confirmed, greatly to the glee of the American.

British East Africa and Uganda have entertained probably more "great" people within five years than any other portion of the British Empire. Royal reigning dukes, brothers and cousins of kings and emperors, British and Continental statesmen of high degree, all have received that unostentatious but genuine welcome which characterizes colonial peoples.

The occasion of Ex-President Roosevelt's visit was unique in the fact that he was the first famous American statesman to set foot in East Africa.

The people who are pioneers in what once was "Darkest Africa" are of a different stamp to the pioneers who made Canada and Australia what they are. The British East Africa colonist has been drawn chiefly from the hardier of Great Britain's aristocracy and from the educated middle classes. All are sportsmen in the best sense of the term; all are men with whom the Ex-President immediately could be on friendly terms. There was no crowding on the

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

privacy of a visitor when once the shoot commenced, nor any unsportsmanlike attempt to spoil a sport by following close on the party's track.

The route when finally mapped out for Col. Roosevelt was his route and his route alone; other big game sportsmen and inland traders respected that route as if it were a drive in a private park.

Kilindini Harbor (the place of deep waters) was the port of debarkation, and Mombasa (the place of war) was the place of residence, where the distinguished visitor was able to do the "sight-seeing" of which he wrote to the Boston League of Mercy.

He also visited Freretown (the place of freedom) where only a few years ago the decree of the late Sultan of Zanzibar was read, forbidding the continuance of slavery. He was able to stand on the spot where, even in the time of his own youth, wretched slaves, raided in the fiercest manner by the famous Arab chief, Tippu-Tip, were put up for auction as goods and chattels and eagerly purchased by the old Mombasa Arabs, many of whom are living in ease now on their ill-gotten gains.

MASSIVE FORT OF OLDEN AGE.

The massive fort begun by the Arab conquerors in the seventh century, and finished by the Portuguese in the days of Vasco Da Gama, also was visited. Every stone was laid by slaves under the whips of their masters, and for every stone a life was paid.

Within the grim walls of this fort history has been written in blood. Nine times has the ownership of the famous edifice changed hands. First the Arab and then the white man, and then again the Arab, have fought hand to hand within its walls, until the time of the final massacre. This was when Yussuf, a baptized Arab, defeated the Portuguese governor, and put to death every white man, woman and child in the place.

Col. Roosevelt's national pride was deeply stirred when he inspected the locomotives that were to carry him in comfort over the continent in two days, on a journey which took Stanley three months of the greatest discomfort and personal danger. These locomotives are the product of Philadelphia.

Col. Roosevelt found that British East Africa provides food for the anthropologist as well as the entomologist, zoologist and historian. Each great native tribe is bound up in its own civilization, its own customs, its own religions and its own physical and mental characteristics, and the march of Western civilization can be clearly and peculiarly denoted by the wearing apparel, or its absence, of the fashionable native women.

At the coast the women adopt picturesque costumes of fancy patterned cotton prints and huge silver hand-worked anklets of many pounds weight.

In the highlands around Nakuru the fashions change. The dressed skins of wild game displace cotton manufactures and roll upon roll of bright iron and copper wire, bound tightly around the upper and nether limbs, complete the costume. Then again in some districts wearing apparel is exceedingly scant.

A GRAND RECEPTION.

But before going into the detail of the hunt it may be well to detail the great reception awarded the distinguished visitor at Mombasa.

The steamer Admiral, bearing Col. Roosevelt, entered Kilindini harbor, flying the American flag at her fore and main masts. She dipped the German ensign while passing the British cruiser Pandora, whose rails and masts were manned by cheering sailors. The Pandora saluted the Ex-President, who was on the bridge.

The first word of the sighting of the Admiral brought the people of Mombasa in crowds to vantage points, where they might catch a glimpse of the distinguished visitor.

The Admiral came slowly up to the harbor and it was dark when Col. Roosevelt, his son Kermit and the captain were brought ashore in the commandant's surfboat and carried to a place of shelter in chairs on natives' shoulders.

There was a perfect deluge of rain, but in reply to the expressions of regret at this, Col. Roosevelt said he was glad to get ashore in any weather. He added that he was in splendid health and that the start to the hunting grounds could not come a minute too soon.

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

The Governor's aide boarded the Admiral and extended a welcome to Col. Roosevelt, who received another cordial greeting on shore from the provincial commissioner, who conducted him to the government house.

R. F. Cunninghame, the hunter and field naturalist, who had charge of the preparations for the expedition, also was on hand at the pier.

Col. Roosevelt was pleased highly when he observed the military guard drawn up. He replied to the salute by doffing his hat and smiling broadly. The crowds pressing forward to see the noted American included Europeans, Indians and natives, and presented a picturesque appearance. While genuinely hearty in their welcome, the people were not demonstrative.

CAPTAIN DINES ROOSEVELT.

The week's voyage from Aden was interrupted only by a short stop at Mogadiscio, in Italian Somaliland. A feature of the trip was the captain's dinner to Col. Roosevelt. The saloon was decorated artistically and much enthusiasm was shown over the speeches, which were exchanged in good fellowship.

In toasting the Ex-President the captain wished him Godspeed and a safe return to the United States. Col. Roosevelt replied, first in English and then in German and French.

It had been the intention of the Ex-President to remain in Mombasa two days, but the floods had been heavy, and it was deemed advisable to change this plan. The special train, which was to carry Col. Roosevelt and his party to Sir Alfred Pease's ranch on the Athi River, left at 2 o'clock the next afternoon.

The acting Governor of the protectorate, Frederick J. Jackson, entertained the Ex-President at dinner and later they proceeded to one of the clubs. The Roosevelt party were taken in carriages about the town the following morning, and, so far as possible, the Governor and his associates strove to meet the special instructions from King Edward to show every consideration to the distinguished traveler. F. C. Selous, the English hunter, was also a guest at the

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

dinner. He accompanied Col. Roosevelt on his first shooting expedition at the Pease ranch.

Col. Roosevelt and the members of his party left Mombasa on a special train at 2.30 o'clock on the afternoon of the 22d for Kapiti Plains Station, whence they were conveyed to the ranch of Sir Alfred Pease for their first shooting trip. The party was accompanied by F. J. Jackson, acting Governor of the protectorate.

Before leaving Col. Roosevelt telegraphed to King Edward, thanking him for the message of greeting read by Mr. Jackson at the dinner given in Col. Roosevelt's honor at the Mombasa Club the preceding night.

A guard of honor composed of marines and blue jackets from the Pandora was at the railroad station when the Roosevelt party arrived, and was inspected by Col. Roosevelt. A number of officials and civilians also were present, and the station building was decorated with flags.

LEFT THE BIG STICK AT HOME.

Col. Roosevelt spent the morning at the Government House, where he was the guest the preceding night of Mr. Jackson.

From Mombasa Col. Roosevelt dispatched a cablegram to the Emperor of Germany, saying:

"I desire to express my appreciation of my treatment on board the German steamship Admiral, under Captain Doherr, and my admiration of the astounding energy and growth of the mercantile and colonial interests of Germany in East Africa."

At the banquet Mr. Jackson said that the Ex-President had left the "Big Stick" at home, and after seven strenuous years as President of the United States had come out to Africa to make use of the rifle. In conclusion he promised the distinguished visitor an immense variety of game and good sport.

When Col. Roosevelt arose to reply he was enthusiastically received with full Highland musical honors. He began with a tribute to the British people for their energy and genius in civilizing the uncivilized places of the earth. He said he was surprised at what he had heard of the progress of British East Africa, but

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

he warned his hearers that they could not expect to achieve in a short time what it had taken America twenty generations to accomplish. He then emphasized the necessity of leaving local questions to be solved by the authorities on the spot, and commented on the fact that the people at home knew little of affairs abroad. In this connection he instanced the United States and the Philippine Islands.

Continuing, Col. Roosevelt expressed his great pleasure at the welcome given him by the British cruiser Pandora, whose rails and masts were manned by cheering sailors when the Admiral came into the harbor. He said he believed in peace, but considered that strength meant peace, and he hoped that all the great nations would provide themselves with this means to the end.

LULLED TO SLEEP BY LION ROARS.

He was followed by Mr. Selous, who expressed the hope that Col. Roosevelt would in the future use the power of his position to bring about an entente between Great Britain and Germany.

The following night Col. Roosevelt reached the hunting grounds and slept to the music of the roaring of lions in the nearby jungle. Needless to say, his joy was unbounded at spending his first night in Africa under canvas.

A big camp had been established near the railroad station for the expedition, and lions were prowling about in the vicinity of the tents. The country was green, owing to the recent rains, and there was every prospect of good sport. The commoner varieties of game were very plentiful, and the huntsmen lost no time in getting started on their shooting trips.

The special train bearing the Roosevelt party from Mombasa arrived at Kapiti Plains at half past one o'clock in the afternoon. Only the members of the party got off at Kapiti Plains. F. J. Jackson, the Acting Governor of the protectorate, and the other officials who came up from Mombasa continued on to Nairobi.

The camp established for Roosevelt was most elaborate. The caravan had a total of 260 followers. There were thirteen tents for the Europeans and their horses and sixty tents for the porters.

An American flag was flying over the tent occupied by Col.

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

Roosevelt. All the native porters of the expedition were lined up on the platform when the Roosevelt special pulled in, and as the Ex-President stepped down from the train they shouted a salute in his honor. In response Col. Roosevelt raised his hat.

Col. Roosevelt was welcomed at the station by Sir Alfred Pease, who was his host on the Athi River. Col. Roosevelt was dressed in a khaki suit and a white helmet. The weather was bright and warm.

Col. Roosevelt, F. J. Jackson, F. C. Selous and Major Mearns rode on a broad seat attached to the cow catcher of the locomotive from Mombasa as far as Mackinnon road, a distance of about 50 miles. The visitors were delighted with this experience, and the Ex-President was deeply impressed with the marvelous scenery that unfolded itself to his view.

SEE GAME FROM TRAIN.

They had a magnificent view of snow-capped Kilimanjaro. Plenty of game was seen from the train, including about twenty giraffes, with their young, close to the line; wildebeestes, hartebeestes, waterbucks, zebras, dulkers, guinea fowl, ostriches in great number, and one rhinoceros.

The other passengers on the special train included Mr. Sandiford, local superintendent of the railroad line; Mr. Cruikshank, the traffic manager; W. J. Monson, secretary of the administration; J. H. Wilson, a member of the Legislative Council, and R. F. Cunningham, the manager of the Roosevelt expedition.

The party planned to have several days in camp before going on to Nairobi. At the conclusion of the visit with Sir Alfred Pease Col. Roosevelt was to go to the Ju Ja ranch and be the guest of George McMillan. After this he designed to shoot buffalo at Hugh Heatley's kamid ranch, fifteen miles from Nairobi, on the Forthall road.

Before leaving Mombasa Col. Roosevelt received an address of welcome from the American missionaries. He wished to visit at least three mission stations while in the protectorate.

After a short hunting expedition at Kapiti Plains, Ex-Presi-

dent Roosevelt and his party broke camp and started for the ranch of Sir Alfred Pease, on the Athi River.

Col. Roosevelt spent part of the previous afternoon sorting his kit, while Kermit and several of the men went to try their luck with the rifles. An old settler, who seemed to take a liking to Kermit, offered to show him a likely place for good sport. They succeeded in bringing down one buck.

ROOSEVELT SHOTS A THOMPSON'S GAZELLE.

Col. Roosevelt's first hunt was favored by fine weather, and he enjoyed the experience immensely. He bagged two wildebeests and a Thompson's gazelle.

In one respect Col. Roosevelt was somewhat disappointed, as he had been anxious to secure a Grant's gazelle, whose massive horns are much sought after for trophies. The hunt lasted several hours and all the members of the party were tired out when they returned to camp.

Smallpox was prevalent at Nairobi, and several cases developed among the porters at Kapiti. These were quarantined and the strictest precautions were observed to prevent a spread of the disease among those attached to the Roosevelt party. The danger of this, however, was considered slight.

The police still maintained their measures for the protection of the American from annoyance. They would not permit any except those designated by Col. Roosevelt to go with the expedition. It had been definitely learned that none of Col. Roosevelt's baggage was missing and that nothing had been stolen as at first was feared.

The wildebeests, of which Col. Roosevelt killed two, are generally known as the gnu, the Hottentot name. This animal is of a sub-family of antelopes and resembles a "horned horse." The mane and tail are like a horse's. The legs are slender as those of the gazelle. These animals, when captured young, may be tamed, but if caught at a mature age, they behave like mad in captivity.

When chased on horseback they often give the pursuer a lively time on account of their endurance and great speed. The young are playful and will circle around a caravan for hours showing a

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

marked curiosity in everything the traveler is doing. The flesh of the gnu is palatable and the horns are made into knife handles and other articles.

The Thompson gazelle which Col. Roosevelt shot and the Grant's gazelle which he failed to get, are members of a large family. The gazelle is one of the most graceful animals known. Its eyes are large and liquid and the poets of the East always likened the eyes of their lady loves to them. The animal is often hunted with greyhounds and falcons.

When hunted with dogs alone the gazelle easily outstrips the pursuit running swiftly and making tremendous leaps over obstacles ten feet high without apparent exertion. When a falcon is used the bird will rise high in the air and swoop down on its quarry, fixing its talons near the long, lyre-shaped horns and harass the animal till the hounds come up.

LION-SLAYING RECORDS BROKEN.

There are many species of the gazelle, ranging from three feet in height to five and six feet. The springbok is one of the largest species and it is known to make vertical jumps in the air with its legs folded.

Before Col. Roosevelt had been in Africa a week, he had broken all records for lion killing in the British protectorate.

The caravan started early Thursday morning from the ranch of Sir Alfred Pease, on the Athi River, and proceeded slowly to the Mau Hills. This range is open for wide areas, but in places is covered with dense growths where game is plentiful. The first night in camp was without especial incident, no attempt being made to go after lions, although their call was heard now and then during the course of the night, but at dawn the camp was astir and the drive speedily organized.

The scene was beautiful beyond human power of description. Far off to the north, but because of its great altitude seeming but a few miles away, majestic Mount Kenya reared its snow-capped peak eighteen thousand feet into the heavens. Its gently sloping sides, rising from the tropical jungles and topped by its crown of

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

eternal ice, seemed a world in itself, are clothed in successive, concentric belts, with every kind of crop and climate known in the world, from the equator to the Arctic circle.

Unawed by the magnificent spectacle, the native beaters set out in all directions under the instruction of the "head man," armed with all sorts of noise-making devices, which could not but arouse any game within earshot. Some of the beats proved blanks, but by nightfall no less than ten kinds of game had been bagged. Mr. Selous accompanied Col. Roosevelt.

As a rule the beaters go into the jungle with considerable trepidation, but as Col. Roosevelt's reputation as a hunter had reached Africa long before he arrived in person, the beaters on this occasion were exceptionally enthusiastic. They seemed even eager to play a part in the first hunt of the distinguished American.

Kermit during the greater part of the day did more effective work with his camera than he did with his gun, he and the other members of the party allowing Col. Roosevelt the much prized shots.

FOUR LIONS IN ONE DAY.

Four lions were trophies of Col. Roosevelt's camp in the Mau Hills that night, and the two hundred or more natives were joining with the American party in the celebration of the unusually good luck.

Of the lions bagged Col. Roosevelt's gun brought three to earth, each on the first shot. Thus one of the former President's fondest ambitions had been realized, and he was proud, too, that the fourth of the jungle kings fell before the rifle of his son Kermit, who, however, took three shots to kill his quarry.

Both father and son were jubilant. It was their first lion hunt, and so magnificent a kill was far beyond their expectations.

Col. Roosevelt was living up to the reputation which he had gained of being a crack shot.

All of the lions were of normal size, and after the natives had dragged them together in the grass they executed the usual dance around the trophies.

The details of the hunt differed little from the usual procedure

in the region. It may be interesting, therefore, to read what the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies of Great Britain, and whose visit to these jungles but a short time preceded Col. Roosevelt's has to say of lion hunting there.

"Nothing causes the East African colonist more genuine concern than that his guest should not have been provided with a lion. The knowledge preys upon his mind until it becomes a veritable obsession. He feels some deep reproach is laid upon his own hospitality and the reputation of his adopted country. How to find and, having found, to kill a lion is the unvarying theme of conversation; and every place and every journey is judged by a simple standard—'lions or no lions.'

"At the Thika camp, then, several gentlemen, accomplished in this important sport, have come together with ponies, rifles, Somalis and all the other accessories. Some zebras and kongoni have been killed and left lying in likely looking places to attract the lions, and at 4 A. M., rain or shine, we are to go and look for them.

WAYS OF LION HUNTERS.

"The white resident hunter cuts a hardy figure. His clothes are few and far between; a sun hat, a brown flannel shirt with sleeves cut above the elbow and open to the chest, a pair of thin khaki knickerbockers cut short five inches—at least—above the knee, boots and a pair of putties comprise the whole attire. Nothing else is worn. The skin, exposed to sun, thorns and insects, becomes almost as dark as that of the natives, and so hardened that it is nothing to ride all day with bare knees on the saddle—a truly Spartan discipline from which at least the visitor may be excused.

"This is the way in which they hunt lions. First find the lion, lured to a kill, driven from a reed bed or kicked up incontinently by the way. Once viewed, he must never be lost sight of for a moment. Mounted on ponies of more or less approved fidelity, three or four daring whites or Somalis gallop after him across rocks, holes, tussocks, nullahs, through high grass, thorn scrub, undergrowth, turning him, shepherding him, heading him this way and that, until he is brought to bay.

ROOSEVELT THE LION SLAYER.

"For his part the lion is no seeker of quarrels; he is often described in accents of contempt. His object throughout is to save his skin. If, being unarmed, you meet six or seven lions unexpectedly, all you need do—according to my information—is to speak to them sternly and they will slink away, while you throw a few stones at them to hurry them up.

"But when pursued from place to place, chased hither and thither by the wheeling horsemen, the naturally mild disposition of the lion becomes embittered. First he begins to growl and roar at his enemies, in order to terrify them and make them leave him in peace. Then he darts little short charges at them. Finally, when every attempt at peaceful persuasion has failed, he pulls up abruptly and offers battle.

"Once he has done this he will run no more. He means to fight, and to fight to the death. He means to charge home; and when a lion, maddened with the agony of a bullet wound, distressed by long and hard pursuit, or, most of all, a lioness in defense of her cubs, is definitely committed to the charge, death is the only possible conclusion.

"Broken limbs, broken jaws, a body raked from end to end, lungs pierced through and through, entrails torn and protruding—none of these count. It must be death—instant and utter—for the lion, or down goes the man, mauled by septic claws and fetid teeth, crushed and crunched, and poisoned afterward to make doubly sure.

"It is at the stage when the lion has been determinedly "bayed" that the real sportsman is usually introduced upon the scene. He has, we may imagine, followed the riders as fast as the inequalities of the ground, his own want of training and the burden of a heavy rifle will allow him. He arrives at the spot where the lion is cornered in much the same manner as the matador enters the arena, the others standing aside deferentially, ready to aid or divert the lion. If his bullet kills he is, no doubt, justly proud. If it only wounds, the lion charges the nearest horseman. For forty yards the charge of a lion is swifter than the gallop of a racehorse. The riders, therefore, usually avoid waiting within that distance.



SCENES AMONGST THE SOMALIS FROM WHOM ROOSEVELT'S PORTERS WERE DRAWN.

CHAPTER XXIX

COL. ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER—ALL RECORDS BROKEN—BAGS A BULL RHINOCEROS—SHOOTS A GIRAFFE IN THE NECK AT 400 YARDS—COL. ROOSEVELT KILLS HIS FIRST ELEPHANT—BAGS A LEOPARD AND CAPTURES THE LEOPARD'S CUBS ALIVE—ARRIVES AT THE JU JA RANCH—COL. ROOSEVELT DELIGHTED.

COL. ROOSEVELT'S hunting in Africa and his expedition has been successful enough to satisfy the most exacting of men. Not only has he broken the record for the number of lions killed by one man, but he has secured giraffes, elephants, rhinoceroses, buffalos, hippopotami and leopard as well, to say nothing of a number of less important game. His first ten days' hunting yielded twenty-seven head of big game of many different species.

When not occupied in searching for specimens or writing he spends his time practicing shooting. When particularly delighted with the result of his day's hunting he spends the evening at the camp-fire, pointing out how Africa could be made a great country.

Col. Roosevelt undoubtedly owes his life to his courage and unerring aim, which combination brought death to a huge bull rhinoceros near Machakos.

Charged by a huge rhinoceros, Theodore Roosevelt, Ex-President of the United States, raised his rifle and waited.

On came the maddened beast, crashing through the reeds, his ugly horned head bent low, the impact of his powerful feet making the earth tremble.

He was forty paces distant, his squeal was heard above the snapping of the brush; he was thirty paces away and his blood-shot eyes glistened like rubies; twenty paces between the hunter and the bulky monster, whose hot breath raised the temperature even in that torrid climate; fourteen paces to go and no downs
Then—

Theodore Roosevelt glanced casually along the barrel of his deadly rifle. Crack! A single shot and the ferocious and dreadful rhinoceros of the jungle hesitated, rocked and pitched forward on his knees, dead.

The bullet was fatal, but so fierce was the rush of the giant rhinoceros that it plunged almost to the feet of the Colonel.

The rhinoceros, the first that the party had bagged, was encountered unexpectedly while making a short sortie from the camp near Machakos, some fifty miles south of Nairobi.

The native beaters had made a wide detour movement, and a returning signal soon told the hunters to be on the alert. Within a few moments the stalked animal gave its own warning, and, with furious snorts, it broke through the underbush electrifying the Colonel, who expected to meet his sixth lion.

CHARGED BY A BULL RHINOCEROS.

The bull came into a clearing at a point about two hundred yards from Col. Roosevelt, and immediately charged upon the party. Realizing the danger that beset "Bwana Tumbo," others in the party were on the point of firing, but Col. Roosevelt held them in check while he stepped immediately in the path of the oncoming infuriated beast. With wonderful coolness, such as no American hunter ever exceeded, Col. Roosevelt took deliberate aim and fired. A second shot would have been impossible, but a second shot was not necessary, as the first had pierced the animal's brain.

When the rhinoceros tumbled over Col. Roosevelt enjoyed the keenest moment of pleasure that he has had in Africa. The fact that he had saved his life did not seem to appeal to him half as much as the fact that he had added a rhinoceros to his collection and under conditions that any hunter in the world might well have envied.

Col. Roosevelt was warmly congratulated for his coolness and skill, and when the natives returned and saw the huge beast dead they were more certain than ever that their title of Bwana Tumbo had not been misapplied.

The rhinoceros made the forty-fifth animal that has been killed by Col. Roosevelt and his son Kermit. The kill represents fifteen

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER.

varieties, an unsurpassed record for the time that the party has been in the field.

The rhinoceros which was of unusual size, will undoubtedly make one of the most prized items in Col. Roosevelt's collection.

The flesh of the rhinoceros is apt to be rather tough, but is of good flavor. The best portions are those which are cut from the upper part of the shoulder and from the ribs, where the fat and the lean parts are regularly striped to the depth of two inches. If a large portion of the meat is to be cooked at one time, the flesh is generally baked in the cavity of a forsaken ant-hill, which is covered into an extempore oven for the occasion; but if a single hunter should need only to assuage his own hunger, he cuts a series of slices from the ribs, and dresses them at his fire.

THE RHINOCEROS A QUICK BEAST IN TEMPER.

All the species of rhinoceros are very quick in their temper, and liable to flash out into anger without any provocation whatever. During these fits of rage they are dangerous neighbors, and are apt to attack any moving object that may be within their reach. In one well-known instance, where a rhinoceros made a sudden dash upon a number of picketed horses, and killed many of them by the strokes of his horn, the animal had probably been irritated by some unknown cause, and wrecked his vengeance on the nearest victims.

The rhinoceros is always vicious, and, like the elephant, the buffalo, and many other animals, will conceal himself in some thicket, and thence dash out upon any moving object that may approach his retreat.

Sometimes the rhinoceros will commence a series of most extraordinary antics, and seeming to have a spite against some particular bush, will rip it with his horn, trample it with his feet, roaring and grunting all the while, and will never cease until he has cut it into shreds and levelled it to the ground. He will also push the point of his horn into the earth, and career along, ploughing up the ground as if a furrow had been cut by some agricultural implement. In such case it seems that the animal is not laboring

under a fit of rage, as might be supposed, but is merely exulting in his strength, and giving vent to the exuberance of health and violent physical exertion.

The rhinoceros is a good aquatic, and will voluntarily swim for considerable distances. It is very fond of haunting the river-banks and wallowing in the mud, so as to case itself with a thick coat of that substance, in order to shield itself from the mosquitoes and other mordant insects which cluster about the tender places, and drive the animal, thick-skinned though it may be, half-mad with their constant and painful bites.

The skin of the rhinoceros is of very great thickness and strength, bidding defiance to ordinary bullets, and forcing the hunter to provide himself with balls which have been hardened with tin or solder. The extreme strength of the skin is well known to the African natives, who manufacture it into shields and set a high value on these weapons of defense.

A REMARKABLE SHOT.

That Col. Roosevelt has a keen eye and is a remarkable shot will be shown by the fact that he shot a giraffe dead, with a bullet through the neck, at a distance of 400 yards. This feat he performed, incidental to bagging another giraffe.

Wherefore the former President was proclaimed the most famous shot who ever hunted in East Africa, his feat being the more remarkable because the giraffe he shot at 400 yards was in full gallop when he pulled the trigger. "Bwana Tumbo" made this record while hunting with his son and five porters a few miles south of Machakos.

The buffalo shot by former President Roosevelt was one of the typical and common South African species, which was equal in size to the Indian or Water Buffalo, the largest of which stand six feet high at the withers and has a spread of horns sometimes exceeding six feet. The South African type has a bluish-black hide, in old age almost completely hairless. Like the buffalo of the American plains the African species has upward-curving horns, but with a greater

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER.

sweep. It lacks the shoulder hump which is characteristic of the American bison or buffalo.

The African buffalo are justly regarded as exceedingly dangerous by sportsmen. When wounded they will charge with extreme speed and ferocity.

During the hunt Col. Roosevelt shot a leopard, capturing the leopard's cubs alive.

This animal is one of the most graceful of the graceful tribe of cats, and, although far less in dimensions than the tiger, challenges competition with that animal in the beautiful markings of its fur, and the easy elegance of its movements. It is possessed of an accomplishment which is not within the powers of the lion or tiger, being able to climb trees with singular agility, and even to chase the tree-loving animals among their familiar haunts.

A GRACEFUL ANIMAL.

In Africa the leopard is well known and much dreaded, for it possesses a most crafty brain, as well as an agile body and sharp teeth and claws. It commits sad depredations on flocks and herds, and has sufficient foresight to lay up a little stock of provisions for a future day.

When attacked it will generally endeavor to slink away, and to escape the observation of its pursuers; but if it is wounded, and finds no mode of eluding its foes it becomes furious, and charges at them with such determinate rage, that unless it falls a victim to a well-aimed shot, it may do fearful damage before it yields up its life.

Col. Roosevelt and party started out early one morning along the wooded shores and swamps in search of hippopotami.

They occasionally saw the uncouth head of a hippopotamus protrude from the water, and the Colonel decided to shoot one, hitting it behind the ear, which is a vulnerable spot, and it spun around in a huge circle like a great top, emitting horrifying sounds, until it died, and the body floated on the water.

This enormous quadruped is a native of various parts of Africa, and is always found either in water or in its near vicinity.

In absolute height it is not very remarkable, as its legs are extremely short, but the actual bulk of its body is very great indeed.

The average height of a full-grown hippopotamus is about five feet. Its naked skin is dark brown, curiously marked with innumerable lines like those on "crackle" china or old oil-paintings, and is also dappled with a number of sooty black spots, which cannot be seen except on a close inspection.

A vast number of pores penetrate the skin, and exude a thick, oily liquid, which effectually seems to protect the animal from the injurious effects of the water in which it is so constantly immersed. The mouth is enormous and its size is greatly increased by the odd manner in which the jaw is set in the head.

There are various modes of hunting the mischievous but valuable animals, each of which is in vogue in its own peculiar region.

DIFFICULT TO KILL THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

The white hunter of course employs his rifle and finds that the huge animal affords no easy mark, as unless it is hit in a mortal spot it dives below the surface and makes good its escape. Mortal spots, moreover, are not easy to find, or when found, to hit; for the animal soon gets cunning after it has been alarmed, and remains deeply immersed in the water as long as it is able, and when it at last comes to the surface to breathe, it only just pushes its nostrils above the surface, takes in the required amount of air, and sinks back again to the river bed.

News filtered into Nairobi from the Roosevelt camp of a thrilling adventure of Kermit Roosevelt. He was lost for a whole night in the wilds and wandered about until daylight when he stumbled on Kiu Station and soon got his bearings. Kermit had been hunting by himself considerably since the party went to Machakos, and was out in search of big game when he was surprised by sudden darkness, nightfall in this region coming without much preliminary twilight.

Kermit who was on horseback, turned in what he thought was the direction of the camp, but lost his direction, and wandered westward toward the Ferman boundary. He soon found himself in the

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER.

barren waste toward that line which is both unwatered and uninhabited. After riding slowly for a time he realized that he had lost his bearings and instinctively turned backward.

He rode very slowly for hours, taking the direction from his pocket compass and with the dawn located the Kiu Station. He was then 20 miles south of the Machakos camp and rode in just as an expedition was getting ready to go in search of him.

ROOSEVELT FOLLOWED A LION INTO A THICKET.

Theodore Roosevelt kills his first elephant. It was a big "tusker," and the former President picked it out of a herd of about a dozen. A baby elephant about two months old was roped and taken alive, and it was sent as a gift from Col. Roosevelt to the New York Zoological Gardens.

Col. Roosevelt, his son Kermit, and F. C. Selous had a narrow escape from the elephant which fell a prize. The men were out before daybreak for lions near Machakos, and there had been no report of elephants in the district. They wounded a lion returning to its lair, and the animal led them on a chase of several miles.

Selous advised against following the lion into a thicket, but Roosevelt went in, taking the lead, and at times moving on hands and knees, with his rifle stuck out in front of him. Selous insisted on following close behind Col. Roosevelt, Kermit bringing up the rear.

Col. Roosevelt reached a fringe of grass at an open spot, and instantly brought his rifle to his shoulder. Selous rose until he was almost standing upright, and saw that the former President was aiming at the leader in a herd of elephants.

His whispered command came just in time to keep Col. Roosevelt from firing at a range of about 20 feet. Selous insisted upon a retreat, and warned Col. Roosevelt that to fire on the herd would be to invite death in a charge.

Roosevelt reluctantly moved back along the trail, and followed Selous in a wide detour. The Englishman had marked down the herd. He kept safely to leeward, and finally directed Roosevelt and Kermit to climb a tree. All three men went into the branches, and

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER.

were able to make out the backs of the elephants through the towering reeds. Roosevelt's elephant gun, firing explosive shells, was in the camp. Selous advised him in aiming and he sent half a dozen bullets into the "tusker."

The elephant charged the fire, and went down on its knees close to the tree. Then at a distance of about forty feet Roosevelt struck the heart, and it went over dead. The rest of the herd tore wildly through the thicket in retreat. Kermit trying several shots, but without effect. The baby elephant was captured an hour afterward by the natives in Roosevelt's caravan.

MOST INVISIBLE OF FOREST CREATURES.

The African elephant is spread over a very wide range of country, extending from Senegal and Abyssinia to the borders of the Cape Colony. Several conditions are required for its existence, such as water, dense forests, and the absence of human habitations.

Although it is very abundant in the locality which it inhabits, it is not often seen by casual travelers, owing to its great vigilance and its wonderful power of moving through the tangled forests without noise and without causing any perceptible agitation of the foliage.

In spite of its enormous dimensions, it is one of the most invisible of forest creatures, and a herd of elephants, of eight or nine feet in height, may stand within a few feet of a hunter without being detected by him, even though he is aware of their presence. At a certain season of the year these animals are seized with a ferocity which renders them intractable, and formidable.

Camp was broken the following day and Col. Roosevelt and his party began their march of fifty miles northeast to the Ju Ja ranch of William McMillan, a nephew of former United States Senator McMillan, of Michigan. The Roosevelt party was the guests of Mr. McMillan, hunting daily in the vicinity of the ranch.

Years ago Mr. McMillan went to British East Africa in search of big game and was so well pleased with the country that he acquired an immense reservation for his private use. He has also

led exploring expeditions that accomplished work of considerable importance.

Mr. and Mrs. McMillan have a wide reputation for generous hospitality. She has shared life in Africa with her husband and delights in the experience.

The McMillan farm gets its name from the Ju and Ja rivers, between which it lies. It covers 20,000 acres of land, and is about thirty-five miles from Nairobi, one of the largest towns of the plateau which is included in the British East Africa. It is fenced in on three sides by wire netting, while on the fourth the river Athi forms a sufficient protection to its boundaries.

Theodore Roosevelt and his son Kermit had good hunting luck on the ranch. Their bag included a waterbuck, an impalla and other varieties of antelope. All the skins were saved entire, and the expedition had now a total of sixty specimens representing twenty different species.

KERMIT KILLS A LEOPARD AT SIX PACES.

Kermit Roosevelt, while on a trip, despatched a leopard at a distance of six paces. The animal already had mauled a beater and was charging Kermit when he fired the fatal shot.

The impalla, or, as more commonly called, palla, is a species of South African antelope also known as a rodebok. It is the principal food for lions and leopards, and being of a suspicious nature, it is not only hard to shoot, but is likely to alarm other game by its shrill whistle when discovered. Only the male impalla has horns.

At the ranch the Roosevelt party had heard stories of a fierce black maned lion that had been prowling around the ranch for several weeks, and had killed a score or more of zebras. Col. Roosevelt was particularly anxious to get a shot at this lion, as it was of a species not included in the lions that he has already killed.

The Colonel spent two days in a futile chase of a black maned lion in the Mau hill country, but it was no such animal as the party desired. The entire party was in high spirits and confident of a record breaking hunt later on.

Roosevelt started early one morning on the most hazardous

hunt of his trip. He and Kermit and their party left the ranch to bag another hippopotamus. On the way to the lair of the "hippo" Col. Roosevelt and Kermit shot two bull buffaloes and a python. One, the biggest of the two, was brought down by Col. Roosevelt alone, while the other was bagged by Col. Roosevelt and Kermit together.

The python killed by Col. Roosevelt the preceding day was the largest taken in British East Africa in many years. The former President and F. C. Selous, his guide, stumbled across the python at the edge of a swamp, where it was quietly making a meal of an antelope, horns and all.

Roosevelt was more excited over the killing of the serpent, measuring twenty-three feet, than over his first lion, although there was slight danger to himself. The bullet that killed, however, was one back from the head, which cut a vertebra. Roosevelt assisted Selous and a band of natives in skinning the python on the spot.

THE ROOSEVELT PARTY AT NAIROBI.

All the members of the Roosevelt party came into Nairobi at 4 o'clock in the afternoon from the Heatley ranch. They were in splendid health. In the last hunting Col. Roosevelt bagged another buffalo, and a bull wildebeest fell before the rifle of his son Kermit.

The naturalists of the expedition had collected two pythons and four hundred odd birds and animals. They were especially delighted with some unexpected specimens.

The Spanish-American War, in which Col. Theodore Roosevelt played a stellar role, was vividly recalled to him by the display of a flag captured by an American at the naval battle of Santiago. The owner had since settled in British East Africa, and had added his prized relic to the wealth of decorations that had been put out in honor of Col. Roosevelt's return.

The reception to Col. Roosevelt in the evening was the heartiest ever if not the most elaborate that he had encountered since leaving New York. The whole town was decorated with flags and bunting, the display being many times more elaborate than that which greeted him upon his first coming to the town.

During Col. Roosevelt's stay in Nairobi a number of affairs

COLONEL ROOSEVELT A REMARKABLE HUNTER.

had been planned in his honor, but which was abandoned, owing to his expressed desire to spend the time as quietly as possible in order to do a little writing.

The special train bearing Ex-President Roosevelt and party arrived at Kijabe in the afternoon. All the porters of the expedition, who had preceded Col. Roosevelt to this point, were lined up on the station platform and cheered Col. Roosevelt when the train pulled in. The journey of forty-four miles occupied four days.

ROOSEVELT RODE ON A LOCOMOTIVE COWCATCHER.

Col. Roosevelt rode half the distance on the locomotive cowcatcher with Major Mearns. They perched themselves on the engine's front at Kikuyu and stayed there until the train reached Escarpment, a distance of twenty-two miles. A hyena that got on the track was nearly run down.

The scenery along the road delighted Col. Roosevelt, especially the Rift Valley. The country between Nairobi and Kijabe is for the most part thickly wooded and high.

The highest point of the Kikuyu escarpment is 7,830 feet. From this point there is a magnificent view down 2,000 feet into the great Rift Valley. Elephants are plentiful in these forests, but are fairly safe from the hunter, as the thickness of the growth renders pursuit very difficult.

The American missionaries, whose field and work the Ex-President has come to look over, were at the station, too. They invited him to dinner, but the invitation was declined.

The party slept in tents pitched near the railway. The following day Col. Roosevelt visited the mission at Kijabe, an American organization called the African Inland Mission. It is independent and self-controlling in the field, although represented by home councils in Philadelphia and London. The headquarters are at Kijabe, where schools are conducted for missionaries' children and for the industrial training of natives.

Col. Roosevelt spent some time shooting monkeys, particularly the colobus. Edmund Heller bagged three of the colobus species and a green-faced monkey, and Kermit Roosevelt killed two large

specimens of the former. Major Mearns occupied his time in shooting birds.

While at the mission Ex-President Roosevelt made a thorough inspection of the institution, and afterward had luncheon with forty of the missionaries and their wives and settlers in the country. The Rev. Mr. Hurlburt, in a speech, welcomed the American.

In replying, Col. Roosevelt said: "I have a peculiar feeling for the settlers working in this new country, as they remind me of my own people working in the western States, where they know no difference between easterner, westerner, northerner, or southerner, and pay no heed to creed or birthplace."

Col. Roosevelt remained over night at the mission and started for the Sotik district the following day.

CHAPTER XXX

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SEES A SUCCESSION OF PERFECT MIRAGES—VISITS THE GREAT ASSUAN DAM—LAUDS MISSION WORKERS—LIONIZED IN CAIRO—GUEST OF THE KHEDEVE—WANDERS AMONG TOMBS OF KINGS—VIEWS SPHINX BY MOONLIGHT—VISITS TEMPLE OF BULLS—"NOT A LION DID HIS DUTY"—THE COLONEL ATTENDS EASTER SERVICE.

WHILE rambling through the ruins of the land of the Nile, descending into the dark tombs of ancient kings, studying the hieroglyphs and communing with the celebrated Sphinx, an American citizen attracted the attention of the entire world. In ancient Egypt, potentates did him honor; at home, the newspapers printed daily stories of his activities.

What was the meaning of it? What was there in a visit to Africa, or in an exploration of the tombs of the mummies, that aroused such intense interest?

Why were the things which Theodore Roosevelt did in a far-away land chronicled with a minuteness and detail?

Everything that happened concerning the nation, or policies of government, seemed to be considered from this angle—What did Roosevelt think of it, and what would he have done about it?

Colonel Roosevelt was not the first ex-President of these United States who, surviving his term, visited foreign lands. He was not the first to have indulged his literary fancies. Yet, there is something in him and in what he did that make him different from all the others.

Shrewd observers of all sorts agree that Roosevelt is the most extraordinary personality in our population, and in some sense in the whole world. He is hated, he is loved, he is feared, he is criticised, he is analyzed, but in every case the conclusion is that he is a force to be dealt with, that he is a great man.

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Colonel Roosevelt and his family arrived at Wadi-Halfa from Khartoum on the evening of March 18, and boarded the steamer Ibis for Shellal, which lies some 150 miles down the Nile, at the head of the First Cataract, close to the great Assuan reserve dam and adjacent to Philae, where are the temples of Isis and other works of the ancient Egyptians.

"The desert offers a striking contrast to the green of the wilderness where I've been," observed the Colonel, while making the long journey from Khartoum to Halfa. "The mirages on both sides of the Sotik remind me of those I saw in the Sotik country in British East Africa. In one I saw a rhinoceros which I believed to be standing in a shallow lake, which proved to be a mirage."

OLD EGYPT'S MAGNETIC ATTRACTIONS.

In the meantime the lure of old Egypt holds Colonel Roosevelt and his family. They passed Sunday inspecting and wondering at the submerged ruins at Philae and the tombs and the great dam at Assuan, the largest in the world, planned to reservoir a thousand million cubic metres of water (234,000,000,000 gallons) to irrigate lower Egypt, under the pitiless sun. They returned weary but enthusiastic to sleep on the Nile steamboat before they start for Luxor, the site of ancient Thebes.

The express for Luxor was crowded with tourists returning to Europe. A special car had been provided for the Roosevelt family, and they dined by themselves during the trip. The journey was a very dusty one, without special incident. The scenery along the route, however, afforded some diversion, giving, as it does, a practical illustration of the utility of the great Assuan Dam, which has enabled the natives to cover the countryside with wheat and other crops in the dry season.

When the former President's party reached the station at Assuan he was greeted by the tourists from the Cataract Hotel and by a number of Egyptian officials. In answer to their cordial reception, he made a brief address in which he repeated practically the words spoken previously to the Egyptian officers.

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

American Consul General Lewis Morris Iddings, stationed at Cairo, was the first to greet the Roosevelts on their arrival. He led them across the platform to a spot where a group of ladies and a party of Egyptian officials were waiting to be introduced. From the station the party were driven to the Winter Palace Hotel, which was well filled with visitors.

They were greeted by a great number of American citizens, many travelers having waited to see the former President. Colonel Roosevelt held a reception at the Hotel, and shook hands with more than a hundred visitors from the United States, and as each passed he made characteristic remarks, which served to recall old days in the White House. At the close of the reception the visitors gave three cheers and then broke forth with the slogan:

“What’s the matter with Roosevelt? He’s all right!”

This caused the Colonel to smile, and he said:

“I wish I could give three cheers for every State from California to Massachusetts.”

COLONEL ROOSEVELT RECEIVES MANY ATTENTIONS.

The attentions which were bestowed upon Colonel Roosevelt increased to an impressive degree as he approached the areas which contained a greater white population. They did not fall short of those conferred upon royalty itself.

Indeed, the Kaiser’s son, Prince Eitel, who, with his wife, was traveling in Egypt, was completely eclipsed by the greater star, and did not receive one-tenth part of the homage which was bestowed upon the former President of the United States. The Colonel left Assuan a few hours before the arrival of Prince Eitel and his wife. He telegraphed the Prince expressing his regret that his plans prevented their meeting there.

Immediately after breakfast the next morning the Roosevelt party left the hotel and crossed the Nile to Felucca. Horses were provided. Kermit was dressed in riding clothes and Colonel Roosevelt wore khaki. Carriages were used by his wife and daughter, Mr. Iddings and Mr. Abbot. Mounting spirited Arabs and accom-

panied by Chief of Police Weigall, Colonel Roosevelt cantered down the tortuous narrow desert valley, followed closely by the carriages, to the tombs of the Kings, 3000 years old. The day was the hottest since Colonel Roosevelt reached civilization, the southwest wind resembling a sirocco.

When the inspection of the tombs was completed, Weigall, wishing to test the famous endurance of the ex-President, suggested a tramp across the cliffs, which led through a perilous path where the heat is intensified by the reflection on the rocks, expecting that Mr. Roosevelt would object.

The Colonel not only kept up, but led, making Mr. Weigall admit that he had underestimated the strength of the ex-President. On returning, four men of the party, including Mr. Roosevelt, engaged in a horse race for a mile over the desert in the hot sun, Colonel Roosevelt winning easily by the grace of his horse, as he laughingly said. Mr. Weigall and Kermit tied for second place.

THE COLONEL'S KNOWLEDGE OF ANCIENT RULERS.

"He astonished me by his knowledge of the relations of the rulers who lived several thousand years ago," observed Mr. Weigall. In connection with Hatesu VIII, Mr. Roosevelt recalled that she was the first woman ruler of civilized history, and from the amount of trouble she gave Tomes, one of her numerous husbands, the Colonel suggested that he must have been the first henpecked husband of whom any record exists.

In their tour that day the party first entered Sethos, the first and most beautiful of the Biban El Moluk tombs. The caverns in the rocky hills reached back into long corridors lighted by fitful candles and occasionally by electricity, recalling the descent into mines.

At the tomb of Jenophis the party was led through the darkness by a railing. Suddenly the light was turned on and they looked at a crypt containing a mummy-shaped coffin with the blackened remains of the King, his arms folded, which reminded the party of the tomb of Napoleon. This is the most dramatic sight in connection with the antique monuments of Egypt.

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

On the way from Luxor to Karnok Colonel Roosevelt halted at the American Mission, where he delivered a brief address. Later in the day he visited the German Consulate, and there was shown a book bearing the signature of his father and Ralph Waldo Emerson, which were written in 1873.

Colonel Roosevelt finished his sight-seeing by inspecting the Luxor Temple. The party left at 7 o'clock on the night of the 23, and reached Cairo the following morning.

The Egyptian capital gave Colonel Theodore Roosevelt the most enthusiastic reception accorded to a foreigner in fifty years. This historic old city turned out en masse to greet the former President of the United States, and official Cairo vied with the remainder of the population in heaping honors upon the mighty hunter, whose exploits had been followed with the most intense interest.

THE COLONEL RECEIVES A POPULAR OVATION.

It was Roosevelt Day, and everybody was out to acclaim the famous American. The Khedive greeted him cordially, the crowds massed along the streets cheered his carriage and the Americans shouted themselves hoarse at Shephard's Hotel. From early morning until far into the night the ovation lasted. Colonel Roosevelt's name was on every tongue, and his appearance at any point was the signal for a tremendous demonstration. The city made a holiday of the occasion.

The Colonel was met by Lewis M. Iddings, the American consul general; Mr. Strauss, the American ambassador to Turkey, and the leading government officials.

He took lunch at the American agency, and was afterward received at Abdin palace by the Khedive, who warmly welcomed him, and listened intently and interestedly to the Colonel's account of his shooting expedition, the story of the country he had traversed and the various classes of natives he had met in the course of his journey.

The Khedive sent a palace carriage to Shephard's Hotel to convey the visitors to the palace. It was the first time this atten-

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

tion had been accorded to a private citizen of any country. Moreover, the Khedive returned Roosevelt's visit in royal fashion.

The Khediviah also received Mrs. and Miss Roosevelt with unusual marks of distinction. She walked through two or three rooms to meet them, instead of waiting for them in the reception room. She had coffee served to them in gold cups, studded with diamonds. She talked with them in French for nearly an hour, asking many questions about the position of women.

Later in the day the party drove to the Mena House for the purpose of viewing the impressive spectacle of the pyramids by moonlight. Extensive festivities had been arranged there in their honor, lasting well into the night.

Up with the sun, after a restful night, Colonel Roosevelt and his party were early astir, preparing for a visit to the Necropolis of Sakkara, where are the wonderful tombs of various kings, of Thy and of the Apis bulls.

RECEIVES SPECIAL RECOGNITION.

Major F. K. Watson, pacha, aide de camp to the Khedive, was an early caller. He tendered to Colonel Roosevelt the use of the Khedive's special camel corps for the eight-mile ride across the desert to Sakkara. Such a tender always is a special mark of favor, and Colonel Roosevelt accepted it with much pleasure. The Colonel and Kermit each rode one of the animals over the dreary waste to the Necropolis, but Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Ethel chose a more comfortable sand cart.

Arriving at the tombs of the bulls of Apis, the oldest of which dates back to 1500 B. C., the time of the reign of Amennophis III, the sightseers were met by an archeologist who had been instructed to act as their guide. With lighted candles, the Americans entered the dark caverns, and looked with interest upon the huge sarcophagi.

From the tombs of Bulls the party proceeded to the temples and the tomb of Thy, a plebeian, who lived in the fifth dynasty, but who was so esteemed that he was permitted to marry a princess.

"Not a lion did his duty." With this declaration, delivered in mock gravity, former President Roosevelt concluded his informal

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

remarks at a reception given the following morning to fellow-citizens from America. The joke on those who openly wished that the lions would get him was not lost and caused a hearty laugh, in which the speaker joined.

The reception was held in the beautiful gardens adjoining the Shepherd's Hotel, and as early as 8 o'clock a crowd was there. A temporary platform had been erected, decorated with American flags and palms. When Mr. Roosevelt appeared he received a noisy ovation. The cheers were followed by the singing of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

The Colonel said that he would not make a speech, but wished to say that he was glad of the opportunity to meet fellow-countrymen. He was glad, he said, to see America in the East. Then he assured them that the lions in Africa had not accomplished the mission jokingly imposed upon them.

THE COLONEL EXTENDS A PERSONAL GREETING.

A line was formed, and passing the platform every one of the crowd, in which women predominated, shook hands with Colonel Roosevelt and received a personal greeting. This over, another cheer was given and once more "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," was sung. Following the reception the Colonel went to his apartments and prepared for the visit to Al-Azhar University.

In his visit to the mosque, Al-Azhar, which in 988 was turned into a university, Colonel Roosevelt was accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, Kermit, Miss Ethel and a few others. A number of American tourists seized the opportunity to inspect the mosque when the invited party was received.

At the "gate of the barbers" the visitors were detained until commodious yellow-covered shoes could be tied over their boots, as the feet of infidels are not permitted to desecrate the Mohammedan floors. A thorough inspection of the mosque was made, the Colonel being especially interested in the ancient carvings, the Koreans which had been the personal property of past Khedives and other celebrities, and the wealth of curious objects in the museum.

The Roosevelts and Ambassador and Mrs. Strauss were guests

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

of the Khedive at luncheon at the palace. In the afternoon they visited the museum of Arab art.

Easter was observed by Colonel Roosevelt in much the same way as though he had been at home. In conventional silk hat and frock coat, he attended the Easter services at the English Church, which was crowded to the doors with worshipers.

Probably the most interesting incident in connection with Colonel Roosevelt's visit occurred when, at his own suggestion, he held an informal conference with Egyptian newspaper men.

The ex-President had been keenly interested in the attack by the native press on his speeches, they charging that he has interfered in Egyptian politics, and said that he would like to have a heart-to-heart talk with the editors. As a result the newspaper men visited him during the day, all of them displaying great eagerness for the interview. Most of them wore European frock coats and tarbushes, but one tall, dignified Arab sheikh appeared in flowing robes and turban.

THE COLONEL ADDRESSES THE ASSEMBLAGE.

After the introductions the Colonel addressed the assemblage. Some of them could speak only Arabic, and hence an interpreter was necessary. The Colonel said something about it being the duty of journalists to promote religious toleration, whereupon the sheikh eagerly interjected in guttural Arabic: "Moslems and Christians have lived peaceably side by side in Egypt for thirteen centuries. There is no reason why they cannot continue to do so."

If he anticipated that this would lead to an argument, he was disappointed, for Colonel Roosevelt only rapped out with appreciative vigor: "That's fine; that's fine," and went on with his homily on the power and responsibility of the press. Describing it as the most formidable weapon of modern life, he declared it ought only to be used for good purposes.

To this the sheikh, among others, heartily assented. The interview ended without any controversy, and with mutual compliments and a general display of good feeling. Asked afterward what were their impressions of the meeting, it became clear that

ROYAL HONORS FOR THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

what struck the editors most was the freedom with which Colonel Roosevelt talked with them, and the pleasure he seemed to feel at meeting them.

It was such an unexpected attitude on the part of the man who had been the head of a great nation that one of the newspaper men declared that his heart was so full of admiration and gratitude that he could hardly restrain his tears. Another, who is an ardent Nationalist, said: "Mr. Roosevelt didn't know what he was talking about, but he meant well."

During a conversation between an educated Egyptian and a correspondent the Egyptian declared that Colonel Roosevelt learned more about the Assiut American Mission in two days than Lord Cromer had learned in twenty-five years. This is typical of the impressions the Egyptians have formed of Colonel Roosevelt's wonderful power in absorbing the details of all subjects.

Later the Roosevelt family gave a small private luncheon and at night the Colonel attended a banquet given in his honor by the Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate.

Colonel Roosevelt delivered an address before the students of the University of Egypt on March 28, and made an excellent impression. He was cordially received, and at the end of his remarks there was much applause. The general opinion was that the speech will have a good effect upon the country generally.

Earlier in the day Colonel Roosevelt received a deputation of prominent Syrians, who wished to acknowledge the kindly attitude toward their people of the former President during his administration, and a committee of the Geographical Society which received Livingstone and Stanley, and wished to pay their respects in a similar manner to the American.

The Syrians presented to Mr. Roosevelt an illuminated address on silk, written in both Arabic and English. The address was enclosed in a solid silver casket, inlaid with gold and bearing an inscription in Arabic. On the outside of the cover, inlaid with gold, was formed an olive branch entwined with Turkish and American flags.

CHAPTER XXXI

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

ROOSEVELT SAILS FOR NAPLES—GETS OVATION—VISITED BY KING VICTOR EMMANUEL—"LONG LIVE ROOSEVELT"—VISITS SCENE OF HONEYMOON IN UNIQUE EQUIPAGE—PORTO MAURIZIO IN GALA ARRAY—ADMIRE'S VENICE FROM GONDOLA—EMPEROR FRANZ JOSEPH PAYS HONOR TO THE COLONEL—JOURNEY TO BUDAPEST—MEETS FRANCIS KOSSUTH—GREETED LIKE A RULER IN PARIS.

IMMEDIATELY on retiring from the Presidency Colonel Roosevelt hurried to Africa, far away from the strenuous political life of the preceding years, living in the wild, indifferent to the world's thought and interest. Not a few were glad to have him thus go, for they thought he had gone beyond the horizon of political life and if he ever returned it would be without a place to receive him. But such a welcome has never been given any man.

At the border of civilization the welcome began, and at every step it increased in volume and heartiness. Missions, civil organizations, rulers and public officials gave him cordial greeting. Courts were opened to him, and Kings made him their personal guest. No other man has undertaken such a journey; no American has been so honored.

General Grant was welcomed as he went around the world to a degree that made us wonder and excited our pride, but it was Grant, the great general as well as ex-President. He received the honors with becoming dignity, but he was a silent man, and no special and abiding impression was made on the world by him.

Roosevelt carries with him his characteristic intense energy, and speaks with the independence and force which made him the most popular and personally the most potent President we have ever had. He seemed to throw prudence aside when he began his

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

speeches in Egypt. He knew there was a sullen discontent, stimulated by ambitious and disloyal men, but this was to him a call.

It seemed as if Mr. Roosevelt was throwing brands into an open magazine, but he spoke fearlessly and with such positiveness that disloyalty was put to shame. His course was proved to be wise for him and for the public good; he was a master and by the force of his personality brought rulers and the ruled into better relations.

At every point the highest honors were extended to him, and in every case he proved himself the plain, straightforward man of high ideals and strong convictions.

THE COLONEL SAILS FOR NAPLES.

The Roosevelts left Alexandria and sailed for Naples in the afternoon of March 30, on board the steamer Prinz Heinrich.

Never was the blue bay of Naples bathed in more glorious sunshine than when the black smoke of the incoming steamer notified the crowd of the arrival of the distinguished visitor.

Notwithstanding the early hour, the water front was lined with thousands who wished to share in the welcome to Colonel Roosevelt upon his return to Italy from Africa.

At his hotel Mr. Roosevelt found awaiting him a messenger from Mayor Nathan of Rome, bearing an invitation from the municipal authorities, who wished to give a dinner in his honor. The former President promptly accepted the invitation and fixed the date for the following Wednesday evening.

Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt attended services at Christ Church in Naples the next morning, leaving for Rome at 2.30 in the afternoon. An immense crowd assembled at the station to see them off. The private car, which had been placed at their disposal by the Italian government, was filled with flowers.

Although measures had been taken by the police to prevent a large gathering inside the railroad station at the time of the arrival of the Roosevelt party, many Americans and prominent Italians managed to find a way to circumvent these precautions, and the

station was well filled when the ex-President appeared at the door of the car.

A detachment of carabinieri and a large force of police made a pathway from the train to the royal waiting room, the king having ordered that the ex-President should receive the same honors as members of the royal families when they visit the Italian capital.

The Colonel was received on his arrival at the Quirinal in the most cordial manner by King Victor Emmanuel. This occasion, the most important set event since Colonel Roosevelt's landing in Europe from his African hunt, afforded opportunity for another exhibition of the admiration of the Italian public for the noted American visitor and the popular interest in his every movement.

The distinguished guest was escorted to the door of the King's apartment, which when thrown open revealed His Majesty standing with arms outstretched and with a smile upon his face.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND KING VICTOR.

The monarch and former President shook hands heartily, the King inviting his guest to sit at his side. The door of the apartment was then closed and the two remained in private conversation for about three quarters of an hour.

The Colonel, it is said, expressed the pleasure that he felt in again meeting King Victor Emmanuel, following the short interview which they had a year ago at Messina on board the battleship *Re Umberto*.

The King responded that he had been waiting with great interest the return of the former President, as he had desired to hear from his own lips the report of his African adventures, which his Majesty had followed as closely as possible.

Following the audience Colonel Roosevelt said that the King had been so gracious and flattering both to him personally and to his country that he felt that he should not make public anything concerning their conversation.

The formalities of the reception over, Victor Emmanuel personally conducted his guest to the hall of the palace, where the

American inspected the hunting trophies of the King's father and grandfather.

When the time came to say good-bye His Majesty invited the Colonel to drive with him the next morning. The sovereign explained that, though they would dine together at court that night, he desired to see and talk with his guest further alone.

From the Quirinal the returning traveler drove to the Pantheon. Beyond the charm of its ancient memories, this spot is sacred as it contains the tombs of Raphael, King Victor Emmanuel II., the "father of his country," and King Humbert.

King Victor Emmanuel called on Colonel Roosevelt at the latter's hotel the next morning, and, following a pleasant social chat, they motored to the barracks of the Cuirassiers, where they witnessed a series of manoeuvres. The ex-President said he had never seen a finer body of mounted men.

THE COLONEL VISITS VICTOR EMMANUEL'S MONUMENT.

From the barracks the King and his guest motored to the monument, in course of construction, to Victor Emmanuel II. Leaving the car the two climbed to the top of the colossal structure upon which \$10,000,000 has been expended thus far.

In the afternoon, in company with Professor James B. Carter, director of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome, the ex-President spent considerable time exploring the Capitol Forum.

Signor Ferra, sovereign grand commander of the Supreme Council, Ancient Scottish Rite, with a deputation, called at Roosevelt's apartments and conferred upon him a high Masonic title. The Colonel delivered a brief speech, in which he expressed gratification at the honor, and insisted upon the principles of brotherhood, liberty and tolerance, which, he said, form the basis of regular Free Masonry throughout the world.

Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt left for Spezia late on the night of April 6 to follow the route taken upon their wedding trip.

Among those who bade farewell at the station were Count Tozzoni, master of ceremonies in the royal household, who repre-

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

sented the king; Mayor Nathan and other civic authorities. The distinguished American was warmly cheered, and there were many cries of "Long live Roosevelt."

At 8.31 the next morning Colonel Roosevelt, clad in a Rough Rider overcoat of khaki, with the insignia of a colonel, alighted from a saloon car at the Spezia station, accompanied by his wife.

The Mayor and sub-prefect who had been awaiting his coming, greeted him, and the Colonel accepted the Mayor's carriage in which to drive to the Hotel Croce di Malt, while a special, old-fashioned three-horse carriage, a replica of that used by the Roosevelts twenty-five years ago on their honeymoon, which had been made ready for their second honeymoon, conveyed their luggage. The old-fashioned vehicle, with mussel bells on the horses' harness, afforded a new sight for Spezia and attracted much attention, making it impossible for the Colonel to preserve his incognito.

THE COLONEL RENEWS OLD ASSOCIATIONS.

After breakfast in the public dining room of the hotel and a visit to the room occupied by Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt twenty-five years ago, Colonel Roosevelt shook hands with all the Americans present and accepted a bouquet for Mrs. Roosevelt.

Then they drove away in a cloud of dust raised by their ancient equipage, while the postilion cracked his whip and the bells jangled merrily, awakening to unusual animation the sleepy town.

People and press of Genoa had manifested the most intense interest in the movements of Colonel Roosevelt. His second honeymoon journey stirred their romantic natures, and when the news spread of his coming, a big crowd hurried to the modest Hotel Britannia, where he had engaged quarters, and with cheering and the waving of hats greeted the arrival of the dust-covered carriage.

Half an hour after the arrival of Colonel Roosevelt, the prefect and the Mayor of Genoa called on him and greeted him in the name of the municipality.

The Colonel visited the Red and White palaces of Genoa, subsequently going driving and visiting the famous Andrea Doria Church, whose solemn beauty deeply impressed him.

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

The departure of the Roosevelts caused a great outpouring of the Genoese, including the municipal authorities, who cordially wished him bon voyage. At every station on the road to Porto Maurizio crowds stood in the pouring rain and saluted the Colonel.

Porto Maurizio in gala dress welcomed the ex-President enthusiastically. Mayor Carnetti, with a delegation, formally greeted him. Signora Carnetti and several other women greeted Mrs. and Miss Roosevelt.

When Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, not only was every man, woman and child in the town massed about the station or lining the streets, but thousands from the neighboring communes had come in to add their enthusiasm to that of the townspeople, which already was difficult to hold in check. The din of the welcome was almost indescribable as the ex-President and his wife emerged from the station. After greeting Miss Carew, Mrs. Roosevelt's sister, the party started forward for the carriages. A band struck up "Hail Columbia," and the crowd cheered lustily.

HE OPENS A BOULEVARD NAMED IN HIS HONOR.

The following day the Colonel opened the new boulevard, which had been named for him, and accepted honorary citizenship of the city of Porto Maurizio, amid a repetition of the popular enthusiasm which marked his arrival.

While a band played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and most of the population of Porto Maurizio shouted "Long live Roosevelt!" the former President and his son left Porto Maurizio on April 13th for Venice.

The Colonel and Kermit spent several hours in Venice the following day, leaving about 2.30 o'clock in the afternoon for Vienna. They enjoyed trips in gondolas on the canals in the city and inspected many of the notable structures and points of interest.

Vienna gave Col. Roosevelt a warm welcome. Wherever he went a crowd gathered to see him, while there was constantly a crowd outside his hotel.

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

As a special mark of his personal esteem the aged Emperor—King Francis Joseph of Austria received Colonel Roosevelt in his private apartments at the imposing Hofburg Palace instead of in the regular audience chamber.

The monarch, who was attired in an imperial uniform, was extremely gracious to the ex-President, and kept him in conversation for thirty-five minutes.

For Colonel Roosevelt the call on the Emperor was only the main feature of a very busy day, which began immediately after he reached his hotel early that morning with a breakfast with Henry White, former American ambassador to France.

THE COLONEL OCCUPIES THE COURT CARRIAGE.

The day included an official visit to Count von Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, which lasted an hour; a call of courtesy upon Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the throne, at Belvidere palace; a visit to the tombs of the Hapsburgs, where, under the guidance of a brown-cowled Capucine monk, with a lighted taper in his hand, he laid wreaths on the tombs of Empress Elizabeth and Crown Prince Rudolph; a tour of inspection of the Spanish riding school founded by Charles VII and the Imperial Hussar barracks; a reception by the Austrian journalists and a gala dinner given in his honor at the Foreign Office at night by Count von Aehrenthal. Yet, after the long day, when Colonel Roosevelt returned to his hotel, he mounted the stairs two at a time.

The Colonel used the imperial court carriage placed at his disposal by Emperor Francis Joseph until his official calls had ended. Then he discarded it for a speedier vehicle—the automobile.

The Emperor's dinner at the Imperial Palace at Schoenbrunn constituted the concluding official function of the Colonel's visit to the Austrian capital.

As the hour of the dinner was set for 6 o'clock, the Colonel and Kermit, in evening dress, left the hotel in a court carriage a half hour earlier. Arriving at the entrance of the palace, a court official met and escorted them up the broad flight of stairs.

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

As the ex-President and his son reached the threshold, the doors opposite were thrown open and the Emperor, wearing the uniform of a field marshal, advanced to meet the guest of the evening.

After greetings, the Colonel presented Kermit, and in a few minutes the Emperor, with the ex-President on his left, led the way through several spacious apartments to what is called the "small gallery"—a white apartment where small court dinners usually are given. Thirty-five additional guests sat down to the table.

With the exception of the Americans all the guests were in full court uniform. Colonel Roosevelt sat at the Emperor's right and Ambassador Kerens at his left. Throughout the dinner the band of the 32d Infantry played in a gallery, principally selections from Strauss. The table service was of silver and white and gold china, with the imperial eagle in gold on the borders.

BANQUET FORMALITIES DISPENSED WITH.

Still following the ceremonial of private dinners, as distinguished from gala and state banquets, no formal toasts were given. The dinner occupied precisely one hour, and upon arising from the table the party returned to the Mirror Room, where what is known as the "Cercle" followed, during which the Emperor personally made the round of his guests. His leave-taking of the former President and his son was exceedingly cordial.

From the palace Colonel Roosevelt and Kermit drove direct to the Imperial Opera, where they occupied the court box for a short time, during the second act of the "Barber of Seville." The house was crowded in anticipation of the Colonel's presence, and he was given a hearty reception.

They drove from the opera to the American Embassy, where an informal reception to the American colony had been arranged, so that they might meet the ex-President. Mr. Roosevelt left for Budapest the following morning, a special car having been placed at his service.

The train for Budapest arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening.

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

Rain was falling, but, in response to the Mayor's appeal, the townsfolk turned out by the thousands. Within the station itself the crowd swarmed everywhere, and as the train came in the officials could hardly clear the track. Scores of men and boys climbed on to the roofs of the cars. A fervent welcome was extended by the Mayor, and Colonel Roosevelt, wearing a cavalry colonel's coat and a black felt hat, made an eloquent reply.

The most notable event in the program was the visit to the House of Parliament. The legislative body, having been dissolved, was not in session, but the Interparliamentary Peace Congress was, and the two Premiers of the dual empire were there to receive the former President.

THE COLONEL VISITS THE HOME OF KOSSUTH.

From the parliamentary buildings, Colonel Roosevelt went to the home of Kossuth. The Hungarian patriot received the American visitor cordially and the conversation turned almost immediately upon the progress which had been made by Hungary since 1848. Kossuth showed his visitor pictures and busts of his illustrious father, as well as various mementoes which are preserved with reverence by the family of the greatest of all Hungary's famous men. The Colonel and Kermit left Budapest on the night of April 19 for Paris.

No reigning sovereign ever received a more enthusiastic welcome to Paris than did Theodore Roosevelt. He reached Paris on April 21, and was greeted by the representatives of the President of the Republic and the Cabinet, American Ambassador Bacon, M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador at Washington, and a great concourse of people, which the cordon of troops surrounding the railway station had difficulty in holding in check.

After luncheon at the American embassy, the Colonel called upon President Fallieres and Foreign Minister Pichon, who immediately afterward paid return visits to the embassy.

Part of the afternoon was devoted to private engagements, and in the evening the ex-President was given an ovation at the

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

Comedie Francaise, where he made his first real public utterance in Paris, occupying the presidential box, which had been placed at his disposal by M. Fallieres.

When Colonel Roosevelt entered the theater between acts, the house literally rose to its feet, volleys of applause bursting from the boxes, pit and gallery. For a full minute the Colonel made no response, but as the demonstration continued he came forward and bowed his acknowledgments.

At the end of each act, when Mounet-Sully, who played the title role, and the other performers responded, they advanced, as is customary when royalty is present, bowing profoundly in the direction of the ex-President before turning to the audience. This seemed only to give additional pleasure to the audience, which, in turn, each time gave a fresh round of applause for Mr. Roosevelt.

The Colonel began his programme the next day with a visit to the tomb of Napoleon in the Palais des Invalides.

THE COLONEL DINED AT THE ELYSEE PALACE.

President and Mme. Fallieres gave a gala dinner that night of 104 covers at the Elysee Palace in honor of the Colonel. The entire palace was brilliantly illuminated and the Republican Guard lined the stairways.

In proposing Colonel Roosevelt's health President Fallieres said: "I cannot allow this dinner to terminate without seizing the occasion to offer a toast to Theodore Roosevelt—an illustrious man who is at the same time a great citizen, a great friend of France and a great friend of peace. I lift my glass also in honor of Mrs. Roosevelt, to whom goes out the homage of our respectful sympathy. I congratulate myself on being able to tell our guests how happy we are to receive and fete them."

Colonel Roosevelt replied in French, saying he was profoundly touched by the words of President Fallieres.

From noon until midnight on the third day of his arrival Colonel Roosevelt was the guest of intellectual Paris, participating as a member at a session of the French Academy, delivering a lecture on "Citizenship in a Republic," at the Sorbonne.

Colonel Roosevelt's reception at the French institute and that at the Sorbonne were equally impressive, but in a different way. At the former he was introduced merely as a member and he took a seat among his distinguished confreres, most of whom have grown old in the service of science.

After listening to the words of M. Boutroux, the president of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, who spoke eloquently of American ideals and character, of which he said, Theodore Roosevelt was the best exponent, the former President of the United States replied in French, his utterances arousing his venerable colleagues to unwonted applause.

At the Sorbonne no attempt was made to restrain the demonstrations. The facade bristled with American and French flags, and fully 25,000 persons packed the streets and acclaimed Colonel Roosevelt on his arrival. Within the building enthusiasm was unbounded, the vast crowd in the amphitheatre interrupting again and again with storms of applause as the speaker defined the duties of individual citizenship in a republic, scorning the sluggards, synics and idle rich, and preaching the gospel of work, character and the strenuous life.

HE DEFINES HIS ATTITUDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

Several times he interjected observations in French, and after he had defined his attitude on the subject of human rights and property rights, he repeated this in French, saying that it constituted the crux of what he had to say, and he desired every one to understand him.

The newspapers of all shades of opinion rang with approval of the doctrines of civic morality expounded by the ex-President.

The "Temps" declared that the impression produced was all the greater because Mr. Roosevelt did not present theories that he conceived, but experiences that he lived. It found many lessons therein for France, and concluded with an appeal to France to take "the advice of an honest man whose deeds and life during thirty years qualify him to speak."

TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY THROUGH EUROPE.

The "Journal Debats" said: "Roosevelt's simple and energetic language is that of Hercules, armed not with a club, but a broom at the door of the Augean stable."

"Liberte," under the caption of "A Magnificent Lesson," said: "We have few men in France with energy equal to Mr. Roosevelt's, but thousands upon thousands who think as he does."

The "Paris Journal" said: "No nobler lesson of civic duty ever fell from human lips."

Colonel Roosevelt passed a comparatively quiet Sunday in Paris. Accompanied by Ambassador Bacon in the morning, he attended service in the American church in the Rue de Berri. Mrs. Roosevelt, accompanied by Kermit and Miss Ethel, attended the American church in Avenue de l'Alma.

THE COLONEL AND MRS. ROOSEVELT ATTEND A LUNCHEON.

The Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt lunched with Ambassador and Mme. Jusserand. In the afternoon there was an automobile trip to St. Germain, where Colonel Roosevelt visited the chateau of Henry IV. In the evening the Roosevelts dined with Ambassador and Mrs. Bacon at the American embassy.

Colonel Roosevelt's popularity grew amazingly as his visit to Paris drew towards its close. His reception Monday night at the Opera, where a gala performance of "Samson and Delilah" had been arranged in his honor, was a remarkable and spontaneous tribute of a brilliant assembly to a man after the true Parisian's heart.

The events of April were a source of genuine delight to the former President, particularly the mimic warfare on the field of Vincennes. The booming of cannon, the rattling of mitralleuses, and the prancing of gallant steeds—particularly the one he himself rode—appeared to fill his soul with delight. "There was one thing I absolutely had to see here," said the Colonel, "before I went to Germany, and that was the French army."

Colonel Roosevelt's visit in Paris during which he was showered with honors, terminated the following day.

CHAPTER XXXII

HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

PROGRESSIVE NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA—A FITTING CHOICE—UNANIMOUSLY SELECTED AS ROOSEVELT'S RUNNING MATE—A LONG AND VIGOROUS PUBLIC CAREER—BELOVED IN HIS OWN STATE—INVETERATE FOE OF CRIMINAL RAILROAD COMBINATIONS—RESTORED RULE TO THE PEOPLE—LIFE FULL OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

No better nor more fitting man possibly could have been selected as the Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party than Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California, and the second Chicago convention did an honor to itself when it unanimously selected him as the running mate of that peerless leader, Theodore Roosevelt.

Many precedents of American politics were broken by the first national convention of the Progressive Party. The convention itself was a violation of precedent. In its very inception it threw tradition to the winds. In its high purpose, its grim determination, its moral sense, its belief in its own mission, it was unlike any convention that has been held within the life of a generation. It shocked the usual rules of convention etiquette by inviting its chosen candidate to address the delegates. Chosen candidates are supposed to be oblivious of the honor that is coming to them and to keep aloof in make-believe dignity and innocence.

The convention smashed precedents in presenting a platform for the benefit of the whole people, and all precedents were broken by its sincere intention of keeping its promises to the people. Many other precedents were broken by this remarkable political gathering. It was quite in keeping, therefore, that the convention should again disregard precedents and set up new standards when it came to select the party candidate for vice-president.

Indeed, nothing that the convention did was in more marked contrast with the ancient political methods nor gave more promise of genuine devotion to the public good than was its selection of a candidate for second place on the ticket. For the first time in the history of the modern national convention a candidate for vice-president was selected because he was big enough to be president if the contingency should arise to call him to the White House.

Political parties have, on rare occasions, selected men for second place who were considered of presidential caliber. But in those instances the moving cause was usually the desire to swing a doubtful state or a group of states into line, or to mollify a defeated and disgruntled faction of the party.

ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION A MISCALCULATION.

In one instance a man fast growing to presidential size was nominated for vice-president to "bury" him and get him out of the way of the political bosses, who feared him and found him a troublesome obstacle as governor of a great state. That was Roosevelt. His nomination as vice-president was purely a miscalculation.

Four men have succeeded to the presidency through the death of the incumbent. Three of these were within the span of a single generation. Of seven elected presidents, beginning with Lincoln, three died in office. Nevertheless, the old parties continue to pick candidates for vice-president as if their only function were to fill out a perfunctory place on the ticket; and in some instances to supply liberal campaign contributions.

Of three vice-presidents who succeeded to the presidency, two were refused nomination by their party and one was impeached. Two, Tyler and Johnson, were blundering incapables, and the best that could be said of the third, Arthur, was that he was a respectable, dignified figure.

All three had been nominated for reasons of political expediency, sops to doubtful states and wabbling elements in the party. In no instance would either one have been even a remote choice of the people for the office of president. Arthur was known only as

a district politician. He was named to mollify the Conkling element of the New York Republican organization, which he served. Thomas A. Hendricks was a big figure in the Democratic party of his time, but he owed his two nominations to tactical moves to capture Indiana rather than to the fact that the vice-president is in constitutional succession to the presidency.

And think of the other nominees for vice-president within your time, if you can recall their names—the Sewalls, and the Stevensons, and the Gassaway Davises, the Wheelers, and the Hobarts, and the Fairbankses. What a political system it was that set these men up to be possible presidents, with recent history showing that they had three chances out of seven to succeed to the office.

UNREPRESENTED PREDECESSORS.

And now we have James Schoolcraft Sherman, saccharin, sunny, dollar Jim. He is a nominee for re-election. The Democrats selected Thomas Marshall, a respectable, parochial figure. If he measures up to the office of president of the United States, the people of this country certainly do not know it. True, he is of vice-presidential size, measured by the old political standard that regarded the office as only a pawn in the game. But that is all that can be said for the Democratic choice.

So important did the fathers of the constitution regard the office of vice-president that they provided that the presidential candidate who had the second highest number of electoral votes should be vice-president. The Progressive party revived this principle by selecting as its candidate for vice-president the man who would have been its second choice for president if it had been asked to express a second choice. It offers to the nation two strong men, one capable of taking the place of the other if he should by any turn of fate be retired from his sphere of activity. Hiram Johnson is a real running mate of Theodore Roosevelt.

The "logical" thing for the convention to have done under the old political reasoning would have been to have named a man from the middle west or the south, somebody who through the

force of local pride would have swung a group of states. But the convention went to the Pacific coast, which is already as good as carried by the Progressives. The "logical" candidate would have been a moderate sort of Progressive, one whose presence on the ticket would be considered an assurance to the reactionaries that after all the Progressives didn't mean business.

All this logic was ignored. Hiram W. Johnson is a fighting Progressive. He led the battle in California which resulted in breaking the stranglehold that the Pacific railroads had had on the State for a quarter of a century. In a remarkable campaign in which he spoke in nearly every hamlet and village of his vast State, the usual closing paragraph of his speeches was: "And remember this, my friends: I am going to be the next governor of California, and when I am, I am going to kick out of this government William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad. Good night."

FOE OF RAILROAD IN POLITICS.

And he did. In his inaugural address he warned the members of the legislature that if they didn't carry out the platform pledges he would personally go into their districts and lay the record of each member before his constituents. He cleaned out the government departments, discharging all the tools of the old special-privilege-serving gang. He got through the legislature twenty-three amendments to the State Constitution, nearly all of which, including that for woman suffrage, were endorsed by the people.

What he did in California has been described by a magazine writer as "the most remarkable political upheaval and the most thoroughgoing legislative reconstruction ever known by any State."

His power over great bodies of men is described as "a moral fervor fuzing the assemblies into almost a spiritual frenzy for a few seconds." A "political revivalist" is a characterization of him by a writer in McClure's. He combines in a notable degree those two qualities which have made Theodore Roosevelt the tri-

bune of the American people. He has moral leadership and constructive statesmanship.

The people of this nation can vote for Hiram W. Johnson for vice-president, secure in the knowledge that if he should be called to the presidency he will conduct that office with the energy, the honesty, the faithfulness to the popular ideals and the efficiency of administration that these critical times demand.

In California they say that Gov. Johnson tackles railroads and bosses before breakfast and laughs at gun fighters and bad men all day long. And they cite events in his history to prove their statements.

"Condensed to a sentence," he said two years ago, when he was placed in the gubernatorial chair, "I propose to put the government of California back into the hands of the people."

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

For that task Gov. Johnson had four years ahead of him, if they were necessary. Only two of them have passed, but he now says the "forces of right" are sufficiently well organized in California to permit him to engage in a wider battle to do for the nation what he originally proposed to do for California.

Gov. Johnson is forty-six years old. He was educated at the University of California, where he pitched baseball on the varsity nine, edited the college paper and eloped with his wife in his junior year.

He was admitted to the bar and began practice in Sacramento, where he made both a legal and a political reputation, the latter for his independence. He fought the gamblers' ring that controlled Sacramento, and closed his fight there by winning for Mayor Clark the suit through which the ring tried to oust him.

Johnson moved to San Francisco soon after the Clark case, and he repeated his Sacramento success in the larger city. His reputation as a criminal lawyer is especially high on the coast. On one occasion, a professional "bad man" was introduced as a witness in a criminal trial to testify against Johnson's client.

"Are you wearing your bowie knife and your two revolvers

to-day?" Johnson asked the bad man pleasantly as his first question. That was the armament this human battleship was advertised to carry.

"You wouldn't dare ask me that outside," growled the bad man, shifting uneasily in his chair.

"I'll ask you that outside or anywhere," snapped Johnson. "Shall we go outside now?"

But the gun fighter had nothing to say. On one other occasion Johnson challenged another artillery expert in court in the same terms, and this man likewise neglected to accept the invitation. It was the nerve the lawyer had displayed in these cases and in Sacramento, as well as his success with the Clark ouster cases, that took him into the Ruef prosecution at a critical time.

PROSECUTED AND CONVICTED RUEF.

Ruef was trying to substitute himself for William H. Langdon in the office of district attorney. This would have enabled him to discharge Heney and become his own prosecutor. Rudolph Spreckels hurriedly retained Johnson on Heney's advice and Johnson easily baffled Ruef's attempt. When Heney was shot in the courtroom Johnson took charge of the prosecution and convicted Ruef.

Then Johnson formally opened the battle against the Southern Pacific interests, announcing his determination to drive the railroad and its employees out of politics. He had no campaign fund and the only vehicle available for his campaign was an old model automobile. His drivers were his two sons, who alternated at the steering wheel.

That fight began in March, 1910, and the field campaign continued more than five months, and covered 13,000 miles. Day after day, with his boys driving his machine through the mountains, he covered even the most remote districts of the State. He opened the day with a speech in the town where he had slept. One of his sons would telephone the next town that a speech was to be made there an hour later, and then the run would be made to that point.

In every speech the Southern Pacific was attacked. In every speech the demand for direct legislation and election was made with all of Johnson's remarkable physical force. The result was that he defeated in the primary four candidates, including two whose backers had asserted loudly they would win "hands down." In the election that followed two years ago, Johnson carried even the city of San Francisco, the headquarters of the Southern Pacific's influence.

Through all this fighting the keynote to Gov. Johnson's position has been his utterance: "I get my Republicanism from men like Roosevelt."

Through it all there has been another influence—that influence that causes his close friends to refer to Mrs. Johnson as "the only boss" that has any influence with the governor.

